

REGIONAL GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT FOR USAID/REDSO/ESA SYNTHESIS REPORT

ENGENDERING DEVELOPMENT IN EAST AFRICA

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

This report is a synthesis of the results of a regional gender impact assessment funded by REDSO. Four missions were chosen for the study: REDSO itself, Kenya, Rwanda and Tanzania. Fieldwork carried out in Kenya, Uganda (for the REDSO Mission), Rwanda and Tanzania examined USAID-funded activities in three sectors: Health (with special emphasis on HIV/AIDS), Democracy and Governance, and Economic Growth. The team was charged with assessing “selected programs that are gender-based, gender-related or programs with a gender component.” This regional assessment was expected to help missions ensure that future activities included gender considerations by demonstrating successes, missed opportunities and lower returns on results due to the absence of a strategic approach to mainstreaming gender.

USAID’s history of dealing with gender dates back to the 1973 Percy Amendment, the 1976 creation of the Office of Women in Development and the landmark 1982 WID Policy Paper. Little by little, gender concerns were institutionalized. Then, in the mid-1990s, re-engineering assumed that gender already had been mainstreamed into the system, and, although it remained a formal requirement of the Automated Directives System (ADS), it was no longer emphasized within Agency reporting requirements. The present research was aimed at ascertaining how gender was faring under these changed assumptions and reporting procedures. Rather than gender mainstreaming, the team more often found a “partial de-institutionalization of gender.”

A rapid appraisal methodology was used in the research, in fieldwork that extended from January 6 to February 17, 2002. Like all rapid appraisal methodologies, it relied on the principle of “triangulation” to establish the validity of data (see Appendix D): for every variable/issue on a short, tightly honed list, at least two sources of data are obtained, preferably using two different research techniques. The team undertook key informant interviews, focus groups, document analysis and observation, interviewing some 200 people (54% women and 46% men).

FINDINGS – THE “PAPER TRAIL” OF USAID REPORTING DOCUMENTS

In all four missions studied, the team analyzed the mission’s “paper trail” of required reporting documents – the latest Strategic Plan and any subsequent R4s – focusing on the three sectors being studied. Where a Performance Monitoring Plan (PMP) was available in draft or final form, it, too, was analyzed as part of the “paper trail.” The purpose of the examination was to assess the extent to which gender had been incorporated into the reporting, including discussions of gender issues and gender targeting, as well as the presence of gender-disaggregated people-level indicators. In general, the level of attention to gender encountered by the team in its analysis of the written record was relatively low, although there were some bright spots.

Three points should be made about the team’s gender analysis of the four missions’ USAID-mandated reporting documents. First, there was a tendency – more pronounced in some missions – for attention to gender to be greater in the early stages of a new Strategic Plan period than in later stages. The team considered this an indication of the “squeezing out of gender,” i.e., an

aspect of the “partial de-institutionalization of gender” it encountered to some extent in all of the missions surveyed.

Second, there was a tendency for gender to be given less consideration in the reporting documents with strict page limits, i.e., there tended to be less attention to gender in the space-constrained R4s (Results Review and Resource Request) than in the more open-ended Strategic Plans. The page constraints of the R4s are such that there is little space to go beyond discussion of the Strategic Objectives (SOs) and their key Intermediate Results (IRs). To the extent that many of the gender-disaggregated indicators tended to be at the sub-IR level, they were less likely to be dealt with in the R4s. Also of importance, rewards for devoting some of the scarce R4 space to results vis-à-vis gender appear to have been minimal, whereas sanctions for failing to do so seem even more modest. Unfortunately, the new Annual Reports that are replacing the R4s have even tighter space limits than the R4s. The “squeezing out of gender” thus may continue because of the way that USAID has been structuring its required documentation in recent years.

Third, it also should be noted that the activities that the team investigated in the field often dated back to a previous Strategic Plan, so there is not always a common thread uniting the sections concerning the “paper trail” with those dealing with the fieldwork findings.

FINDINGS – THE FIELD INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATION

The team found that, in the absence of institutionalized and enforced reporting requirements vis-à-vis gender, attention to gender tended to devolve down to the individual level. That said, some individuals created noteworthy successes.

Tanzania provided a positive example of how taking gender into account contributed to a project’s success. The head of a health-related international NGO carried out what amounted to a gender analysis in order to learn how to market a new mosquito net treated with anti-malarial chemicals. The analysis revealed that the mosquito net had to be targeted to the husband, since it cost more money than the wife was likely to have under her control; whereas the chemical wash that maintained the potency of the net’s malaria protection was better targeted to the wife since it was cheap enough for her to buy with her own “basic necessities” money. This gender analysis and resultant gender targeting have resulted in a very successful product launch.

In contrast, an example, from Kenya showed how gender blindness detracted from a project’s success. This came to light only because of fortuitous circumstances. A research team conducted a study of the introduction of new high beta carotene/Vitamin A varieties of sweet potato (Kenya was one of five countries involved in a large project aimed at reducing the Vitamin A deficiency quite prevalent in the region). Although the Scope of Work for the research made no mention of gender, a woman member of the team recently had received training in gender analysis, which she decided to add to the study. Among her findings were dramatic gender differences: women farmers (who carried out the overwhelming bulk of the work on sweet potatoes) tended to prefer the soft-fleshed high Vitamin A varieties whereas men favored varieties lower in Vitamin A. But she also discovered that the processing equipment intended to produce large amounts of flour made from high Vitamin A varieties had a fatal flaw: the machines had been designed in a gender-blind manner. It turned out that women were not tall

enough to use the first machine, a slicer, comfortably, even standing up. Worse yet, the second machine in the processing sequence, a washer, required copious amounts of water and, apparently, no one had bothered to find out that in that area all water had to be carried by hand – by women and children. So women’s workloads would have increased enormously. Not surprisingly, the research also discovered that almost no flour was being processed. In other words, achievement of the project’s objectives clearly was compromised by the lack of gender-disaggregated data and gender analysis.

Many other instances were encountered where analyzing gender considerations (an effort that required gender-disaggregated data) paid off for projects whereas gender-blind efforts suffered. Other findings indicated that some Health/HIV/AIDS and Democracy and Governance projects were more successful when they also increased income under women’s control: in one example in Tanzania, this enhanced women’s ability to negotiate safe sex.

For all missions assessed, the assessment team found that few USAID or partner organization staff interviewed had the training needed to carry out the kinds of gender analyses that uncover findings like those mentioned above. Indeed, many did not understand the importance of – or the procedures for – obtaining gender-disaggregated data. In addition to being a long-mandated USAID requirement, data broken down by sex constitute the essential prerequisite for subsequent gender analysis, gender targeting and gender mainstreaming. On a positive note, many interviewees recognized that they lack expertise about gender and they requested training in precisely these areas. The assessment team places the need for such training high in its list of lessons learned and recommendations, presented below.

LESSONS LEARNED, RECOMMENDATIONS AND A POSSIBLE STRATEGY FOR MAINSTREAMING GENDER WHILE ADDRESSING WOMEN’S “STRATEGIC NEEDS”

In overview, the research has revealed five basic elements or tools needed for gender to be taken seriously into account in the policies and programs of the four missions and their partners, in a way that promotes enhanced gender equity as well as the success of those policies and programs.

1. *Incentives*

- ***Lesson Learned:*** Incentives have been found to be behind the most thoroughgoing cases of gender analysis and gender targeting. Specifically, market-driven incentives seemed most powerful (as in the mosquito net case mentioned above; market incentives also promote attention to gender in most “best practices” microcredit efforts, since women tend to be better at loan repayment). A close analogue involves becoming motivated to incorporate gender because one has discovered that dealing with gender enhances the level of success and impact of a project.

In the REDSO fieldwork, this was the case with a livestock initiative: the project staff gradually realized that the minute proportion of women animal health workers handled the sale of veterinary drugs more honestly and fairly than their male counterparts and did not divert the money. This motivated the team leader to seek out

knowledge and advice about gender that led to the hiring of women staff and a more gender-sensitive – and successful – approach.

USAID and partner staff also can be given incentives to deal seriously with gender that can be considered indirectly market-driven. If their track record with respect to mainstreaming gender is one of the criteria for raises and promotions, it will help reward people who pay attention to this issue. Then if they find that their programs also perform better as the result of gender disaggregation of data, gender analysis and appropriate gender targeting, they have still another incentive to promote more attention to gender issues.

- **Recommendation:** Incentives should be formulated that encourage both USAID and partner organization staff to take gender into account. These incentives should include making their performance vis-à-vis gender one of the criteria in their annual performance evaluations (as urged by Moser 1993 and practiced in Canadian CIDA and IDRC).

2. *Resources*

- **Lesson Learned:** Resources are required for partners and USAID to be able to gainfully deal with gender. These include time and staff with sufficient seniority and authority working on a full-time basis, as well as budget. And they also include knowledge, as discussed below in relation to training and technical assistance.
- **Recommendation:** Time should be provided for the mission “WID Officer” to be able to track gender performance in all SOs, and time should be programmed for one person per SO team to don the “gender hat” for that SO. Similarly, partners should explore using the Monitoring & Evaluation person/team for this role and giving them the resources (including possible consideration in performance and merit awards) for doing so. All of these people – the mission WID Officer, the mission gender monitor/specialist for each SO and the partner gender monitors – should meet periodically to share lessons learned and receive incentives for developing the most innovative ways of mainstreaming and tracking gender within their sectors.

3. *Reporting Requirements*

- **Lesson Learned:** The ADS requires attention to gender in a number of ways but its guidance is extremely unclear. Moreover, there is no evidence that its stringent requirements are being implemented – or monitored. The R4s have page constraints that discourage reporting of gender results. There is no longer a WID Annual Report. There are no longer required gender analyses as part of a Project Paper system. So gender seems to be increasingly squeezed out, as was found in the document analysis. Washington is the appropriate venue for revamping the ADS system. Also, the R4 is being superseded by a new Annual Report, with unknown impact on gender reporting. PMPs, however, may offer a new shuffle of the deck. They are only now being approved. Where a PMP is still in draft, there is still time for considering

gender; where one has recently been approved, as in the case of REDSO, there is still time to revisit gender before it is fully implemented.

- **Recommendation:** Dialogue with Washington should be promoted on those aspects of reporting that are in its bailiwick; meanwhile, the new PMPs and Annual Reports should be reviewed for ways of incorporating gender. But as a first step – and one that is within a mission’s “manageable interests” – disaggregating all people-level data by gender should be made compulsory. After all, this is a Congressional as well as an ADS mandate and in addition, without such data there is no way to make a case for “the gender variable.”

4. *Training And Technical Assistance*

- **Lesson Learned:** It appears that there has been a lull in recent years in WID Office training and technical assistance so that whole cohorts of USAID personnel and their partners have more good will than knowledge concerning gender and development. This “skills gap” is a big part of the reason that the “partial de-institutionalization of gender” has proceeded as far as it has, and it needs to be filled. Fortunately, wherever the team went, it was greeted with requests for training and technical assistance by people who wanted to address gender because they believed it would add value to their projects, but didn’t know how to do so.
- **Recommendation:** A multi-level gender training and technical assistance program should be launched that encompasses both USAID and its partners and even sub-partners (the latter via Training of Trainer (TOT) models). Training should be provided in two distinct levels. The **lower level** should include: (a) basic gender awareness; and (b) basic rationale and procedures for disaggregating data by gender. This lower level training should be provided by local consultants, after their expertise has been vetted by a recognized gender expert. The **upper level** should consist of: (c) gender analysis specifically geared to the particular characteristics and problems of a given development sector; and (d) gender mainstreaming. At least initially, it is recommended that gender experts who provide (c) and (d) should be brought in from outside the mission on a Scope of Work that also includes assessing the competence of the local consultants being considered for the lower level training. The experts for the upper level training may be either from the WID Office or an outside consultant/consulting organization. Since all these levels of training must be repeated periodically, funds should be sought to bring local trainers up to speed so that training is institutionalized.

5. *Strategy: Economic Empowerment For Women As A Component In A Wide Variety Of Sectors*

- **Lesson Learned:** Economic empowerment for women may be the most effective basis for a strategy to enhance their status and their society/group’s overall gender equity. The 1982 WID Policy Paper stressed it, the literature on gender and development finds it the most powerful factor affecting women’s destiny relative to men, and the most successful sector of recent development aid – “best practices”

microfinance programs – frequently achieves it. Enhanced control of economic resources can give a woman greater: (a) self-confidence; (b) say in her own fertility; (c) voice in household decisions; (d) ability to be active in civil society/conflict resolution; and (e) ultimately, protection from domestic violence. Since women tend to spend income they control more single-mindedly on children’s nutrition, education and healthcare than male counterparts, promoting their economic empowerment can provide an extra “synergy bonus” of greater human capital formation. Economic empowerment also is the only variable addressing both women’s “strategic needs” and “practical needs” (as described by Molyneux, Moser, and others). Finally, it can be integrated with development programs in other sectors, including Democracy and Governance and Health/HIV/AIDS, resulting in greater program success as well as gender equity.

- **Recommendation:** There should be emphasis on assistance that enhances women’s economic empowerment and such assistance should not be confined to Economic Growth initiatives. Instead, in every relevant sector, a “livelihood component” should be formulated, or a link established to an existing program that increases income under women’s control. This should give women more clout in influencing male condom use, more say in their own fertility, and more of a foundation for civic activism, thereby enhancing the success of such non-economic programs.

A FINAL “BIG PICTURE” CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATION

Two of the hallmarks of science are that it is (a) cumulative, and (b) self-correcting. This is because of the “scientific method,” which establishes procedures that are internationally recognized. USAID has not pursued such a systematic approach to gender and development. As a result, there has been less codification and dissemination of the findings, lessons learned and recommendations of assessments such as this, and little sharing of experiences across SO teams and missions in a region. Incorporation of gender would be more likely with the adoption of:

- institutionalized procedures (e.g., for periodic training at different levels, for required – and monitored – gender-disaggregation of data, for including gender in reporting documents, RFAs, RFPs and SOWs, as well as for gender analyses of projects), and
- institutionalized information-sharing (e.g., naming one person in each SO team to “wear the gender hat,” forming them into a mission “gender committee” that also includes the mission gender officer and representatives from partner organizations, and linking mission gender committees in a region via computer network/internet).

The result should enhance the spread effect of positive lessons and promote the correction of mistakes and sub-optimal practices. Accordingly, this report’s final recommendation is that the participants at the upcoming forward-looking workshop formulate and adopt such an approach.

ACRONYMS

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ADS | Automated Directives System |
| AID | Agency for International Development |
| AIDS | Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome |
| AMREF | African Medical and Research Foundation |
| Appro-TEC | Appropriate Technologies for Enterprise Creation |
| ASARECA | Association for Support to Agricultural Research in East and Central Africa |
| BDS | Business Development Services |
| BEST | Business Enterprise Skills Training |
| BSS | Behavior Surveillance Surveys |
| CARE | International Rescue Committee |
| CBO | Community-Based Organization |
| CCBRT | Comprehensive Community-Based Rehabilitation – Tanzania |
| CCGD | Collaborative Center for Gender |
| CGIAR | Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research |
| CIDA | Canadian International Development Agency |
| CIP | Centro Internacional de la Papa |
| CPR | Contraceptive Prevalence Rate |
| CS | Child Survival |
| CSO | Civil Society Organization |
| DFID | Department for International Development |
| DG | Democracy and Governance |
| DHS | Demographic and Health Survey |
| EARRNET | East Africa Root-Crops Research Network |
| EASSI | Eastern Africa Sub-Regional Support Initiative |
| ECA | Economic Commission for Africa |
| ECAPAPA | Eastern and Central Africa Program for Agricultural Policy Analysis |
| EDC | Enterprise Development Center |
| EG | Economic Growth |
| FAWE | Forum for African Women Educationalists |
| FEDA | Finance and Enterprise Development Associates Ltd. |
| FGM | Female Genital Mutilation |
| FHI | Family Health International |
| FP | Family Planning |
| FP/MCH | Family Planning/Maternal-Child Health |
| GAD | Gender and Development |
| GDI | Gender Development Index |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GEM | Gender Empowerment Measure |
| GHAI | Greater Horn of Africa Initiative |
| GOK | Government of Kenya |
| GOR | Government of Rwanda |
| GOT | Government of Tanzania |
| GTF | Gender Task Force |
| HIV | Human Immunodeficiency Virus |

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|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| HIV/AIDS | Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome |
| ICJ | International Commission of Jurists |
| IDRC | International Development Research Center (Canada) |
| IITA | International Institute of Tropical Agriculture |
| INGO | International Non-Governmental Organization |
| IQC | Indefinite Quantity Contract |
| IR | Intermediate Result |
| IRC | International Rescue Committee |
| ISGM | Institutional Strengthening Grant Management |
| ISP | Integrated Strategic Plan |
| KACA | Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority |
| KARI | Kenya Agricultural Research Institute |
| K-REP | Kenya Rural Enterprise Program |
| MIGEPROFE | Ministry of Gender and the Advancement of Women |
| MOJ | Ministry of Justice |
| MP | Member of Parliament |
| MSE | Micro and Small Enterprise |
| MYOB | Manage Your Own Business |
| NAARI | Namulonge Agricultural and Animal Production Research Institute |
| NARO | National Agricultural Research Organization |
| NPC | Non-Presence Countries |
| NRCHS | National Reproductive and Child Health Survey |
| OAU/IBAR | Organization of African Unity/Intergovernmental Bureau for Animal Resources |
| PACT | Participating Agencies Collaborating Together |
| PHN | Population, Health and Nutrition |
| PMP | Performance Monitoring Plan |
| PRA | Participatory Rural Appraisal |
| PRAPACE | Regional Potato & Sweet Potato Improvement Program in E. & C. Africa (Eng.) |
| PRSP | Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper |
| PSI | Population Services International |
| R4 | Results Review and Resource Request |
| RAP | Rapid Assessment Procedures |
| RCQHC | Regional Center for Quality of Health Care |
| REDSO | Regional Economic Development Services Office |
| REDSO/ESA | Regional Economic Development Services Office/Eastern and Southern Africa |
| RFA | Requests for Assistance |
| RFP | Request for Proposal |
| RH | Reproductive Health |
| RMPS | Risk Management Profit-Sharing Fund |
| RRA | Raid Rural Appraisal |
| SATF | Social Action Trust Fund |
| SIDA | Swedish Government Agency for Bilateral International Development Cooperation |
| SOW | Scope of Work |
| STD | Sexually Transmitted Disease |
| SWAK | Society for Women and AIDS in Kenya |
| SYOB | Start Your Own Business |
| TAMWA | Tanzanian Media Women's Association |

| | |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| TANGO | Tanzanian Association of Non-Governmental Organizations |
| TAP | Transition Action Plan |
| TAWLA | Tanzanian Women Lawyers Association |
| TBC | The Business Center |
| TGNP | Tanzania Gender Networking Program |
| TKAPS | Tanzania Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices Survey |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Program |
| UNSPPA | Uganda Seed Potato Producers Association |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |
| USG | United States Government |
| VCT | Voluntary Counseling and Testing |
| WASDA | Wajir South Development Association |
| WAT | Women's Advanced Trust |
| WCF | Women's Communal Funds |
| WID | Women in Development |
| WIT | Women in Transition |
| WR | World Relief |

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 OVERVIEW

This report tells two stories about gender and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). On the one hand, it summarizes a gender impact assessment of USAID/REDSO and three bilateral missions – Kenya, Rwanda and Tanzania – as well as some of their partners, sub-partners and clients. The research was funded by REDSO and fieldwork was carried out in January and February 2002 using Rapid Appraisal Methodology (described below). On the other hand, this report focuses on what may be termed the “partial de-institutionalization of gender” within the Agency – a phenomenon encountered during the field research and found to have had a profound effect on how and to what extent gender was mainstreamed into the activities of USAID and its partners.

In order to tell the first story about gender and the four missions included in the study, it is necessary to give an overview of the second story of the possible “partial de-institutionalization of gender” in USAID after the mid-1990s. And this second tale begins with the Agency’s early successes in promoting the incorporation of women into sustainable development.

1.2 A LITTLE HISTORY

In 1973 the “Percy Amendment” to the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act mandated that bilateral assistance programs henceforth “be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort.”

The Percy Amendment thrust USAID into the forefront of the international donor community in promoting development for both halves of the population.

- By 1976, USAID had established its Office of Women in Development (WID) to translate the Percy Amendment into on-the-ground implementation in U.S. foreign aid.
- By 1982, the WID Office published a landmark WID Policy Paper that to this day never has been superseded. Like the Percy Amendment, it gave “pride of place” to the economic, especially female economic empowerment.
- During the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s, Women in Development (WID) was gradually transformed into Gender and Development (GAD) and ever more sophisticated tools and frameworks for dealing with gender were developed. Although systematic attention to women and gender was far from uniform, a gradual process of institutionalization seemed to be well under way.
- For example, every project started with a Project Paper and every Project Paper included, among its various technical analyses, a Gender Analysis; some were mere boilerplate, to be sure, but knowledge did seem to be cumulating.

- Additionally, the Office of Women in Development provided varying levels of training and hands-on assistance to missions, Washington bureaus and USAID partners to enable them to deal with “the gender variable.”
- The mid-90s brought two relevant changes: WID Office training and technical assistance dropped, while re-engineering, which changed the system and the reporting requirements, began. As with many policy and paradigm shifts, this led to unintended consequences.
- As will be discussed below, this consultancy has found that some of those unintended consequences may have affected the gender impact of the various mission programs that the team was tasked to assess.

1.3 RE-ENGINEERING AND GENDER

The gender impact assessment team offers the hypothesis that some of the unintended consequences vis-à-vis gender may be traced to the fact that re-engineering brought with it a transformation in the Agency’s documentation and reporting requirements:

Although the ADS 200 series continues to require attention to gender, little guidance is currently available on how to do so. Also, the reporting requirements and page limits of the R4 (Results Review and Resource Request) have meant that missions have extremely limited space to showcase their results and make their cases for funding. The R4’s page constraints, in particular, have left missions very hard-pressed to devote any space to activities and accomplishments below the Strategic Objective (SO) and Intermediate Results (IR) levels. Ominously, the new Annual Reports provide even stricter page limits.

And unfortunately, in many missions, most attention to gender (e.g., reporting sex-disaggregated people-level indicators) tends to be at the sub-IR level. Of greater importance, rewards for devoting some of that scarce space to results vis-à-vis gender appear to have been minimal, whereas sanctions for failing to do so seem even more modest: mission R4s are not graded on their attention to/mainstreaming of gender. The net result, it can be argued, has been that the slow process of “gender institutionalization” taking place in the Agency for over two decades may have begun to backslide after 1995.

The fieldwork and analysis carried out for the present research provides illustrations of what might be considered a partial de-institutionalization of gender. It should be stressed that the examples presented below of “gender falling through the cracks” occurred even though a good number of the USAID people involved in the process were both knowledgeable about the importance of taking gender into account and personally committed to ensuring that development equitably incorporates both males and females.

The first major substantive section, below, presents an analysis of each of the four missions’ required reporting documents, or “paper trail.” The findings provide several examples of the “squeezing out of gender” from mission documents and practices. But before turning to this analysis, it is useful to first introduce the larger study’s objectives and methodology, as well as the specific fieldwork undertaken with the four missions and a selection of their partners, sub-partners and clients.

1.4 THE STUDY

According to the Scope of Work, the primary objective of REDSO/ESA's Regional Gender Impact Assessment was defined as "operational." The purpose, according to the SOW, "is to identify and address both strengths and deficiencies so as to enhance future impact." Concretely, the team was charged with assessing "selected programs that are gender-based, gender-related or programs with a gender component in at least 4 missions within the region." The missions included in the study were (1) REDSO itself, (2) Kenya, (3) Rwanda, and (4) Tanzania, and the three sectors chosen for analysis were (1) Economic Growth/Food Security, (2) Democracy and Governance/Conflict, and (3) Health/HIV/AIDS. (The list of contacts interviewed and the Scope of Work are included as Appendices A and B.) This regional assessment should enable missions to ensure that future stages of activity implementation will include gender considerations by demonstrating successes, missed opportunities and lower returns on results due to the absence of a strategic approach in mainstreaming gender.

In order to carry out the assessment, a rapid appraisal was undertaken. Rapid appraisal is a technique that has become increasingly popular in development research since it was first named at a 1978 conference at the University of Sussex (see Appendix D). There are several variations, including Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Rapid Assessment Procedures (RAP). All variants of rapid appraisal, however, share the same principle of cross-validating information. Specifically, a well-conducted rapid appraisal requires use of the principle of "triangulation" to establish validity and to lift the data collection above the level of a simple case study. Triangulation means that for each variable/issue on a tightly honed list, data are gathered from at least two sources, preferably via two different techniques.

Rapid appraisals are particularly well suited for exploratory research, as opposed to hypothesis-testing research. In many such instances, rapid appraisal methods may provide better-contextualized data that are more valid than those obtained by a large-scale sample survey. Also, rapid appraisals can do this more quickly and cheaply than surveys.

Even where it is not possible for a rapid appraisal to cross-check every specific fact, it can use multiple replications to provide "convergent validity." This means that a large number of interviews, observations, focus groups, document analyses, etc. are undertaken and the repetition of the same basic questions provides multiple opportunities to establish the main parameters of the phenomena in question, as well as provide clues as to sources and extent of variation.

To complement the "inside angle of vision," the triangulation process should, ideally, include an "outside angle of vision" provided by key informants and/or members of a control group.

Despite extreme time pressures caused by very short field stays in each site, the research managed to follow the prime guidelines of a rapid appraisal. Given time constraints, it was not possible to crosscheck every one of the specific findings. Instead, the team relied on multiple replications, as discussed above. Data were gathered via four principal means: (a) key informant interviews, (b) focus groups, (c) analysis of documents, and (d) observation. The strategy utilized in each mission began with interviews of USAID staff and analysis of

TABLE 1
People Interviewed for Regional Gender Impact Assessment

| | <u>Men</u> | <u>Women</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Mission = REDSO</u> | | | |
| A. <u>Kenya</u> | | | |
| USAID | 14 | 10 | 24 |
| Partners | 9 | 3 | 12 |
| CBO Members | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| B. <u>Uganda</u> | | | |
| Partners | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| CBO Members | 3 | 10 | 13 |
| Others (for “outside angle of vision”) | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | 32 | 34 | 66 |
| <u>Mission = Kenya*</u> | | | |
| USAID | 9 | 5 | 14 |
| Partners | 12 | 11 | 23 |
| | 21 | 16 | 37 |
| <u>Mission = Rwanda</u> | | | |
| USAID | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Partners | 12 | 11 | 23 |
| CBO Members | 5 | 22 | 27 |
| | 20 | 37 | 57 |
| <u>Mission = Tanzania</u> | | | |
| USAID | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Partners | 16 | 16 | 32 |
| Other | 1 | | 1 |
| | 19 | 21 | 40 |
| | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 92 (46%) | 108 (54%) | 200 |

* Does not include clients interviewed in April

documents for each of the three sectors/related Strategic Objectives. Then team members met with USAID partners, starting at the International NGO/partner level and descending also to the National NGO/partner level. Next, wherever possible, the team went to the Community-Based Organization (CBO) level, and, even, where time permitted, to actual clients/service recipients.

Over the total course of fieldwork, which extended from January 6 through February 17, 2002, the team interviewed some 200 people, mostly in individual key informant interviews. Disaggregated by sex, this included 92 men (46%) and 108 women (54%).

1.5 PRINCIPLES GUIDING GENDER-RESPONSIVE PLANNING AND PROGRAMMING

Before getting into the gender impact assessment of the REDSO mission, it is important to understand some of the principles underlying gender mainstreaming.

1. Any development process that does not address the different gender needs and strategic interests of men and women is bound to promote inequality in society and also will not be efficient in its identification, targeting and utilization of resources.
2. It must be understood that gender is a social construct that involves deep-rooted cultural values, beliefs, anxieties and emotions. Furthermore, a specific group's construct of gender is based on societal ideologies.
3. The process of creation of a gender-equitable society demands that those who currently hold the power and resources share them with the disadvantaged.
4. There must also be recognition of the different gender and biological roles and responsibilities that make men and women interpret the world differently.
5. There must be appreciation of the social, cultural, political and historical constraints on women and girls that necessitate the use of affirmative action to help bridge extant gender gaps, promote women's empowerment and address the strategic needs of poor men as well as women.
6. There can be no gender mainstreaming without gender analysis that examines the differing resources, roles and incentives of men and women in a given context, and the prerequisite for any gender analysis is gender/sex-disaggregated data. Accordingly, there is the need for continuous collection of gender disaggregated data as well as continuous utilization of the same.
7. A participatory approach that solicits the involvement of men and women in reflecting on situations that affect them and in identifying their own problems will facilitate coming up with solutions for the same.
8. Finally, it must be understood that gender-responsive planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation will promote efficiency and greater productivity and lead to greater well-being of men, women, boys and girls.

2.0 BACKGROUND

2.1 OVERVIEW OF EACH MISSION'S CONTEXT AND STRATEGY

A. REDSO AND ITS EVOLUTION

REDSO is still dealing with the ramifications of a major organizational transformation. From 1973 until the mid-1990s, it was primarily a service organization. Specifically, it “provided services to bilateral missions in the region while implementing limited regional activities” (Strategic Plan 2000:7). Beginning in the mid-1990s, its implementation role began to expand greatly and now REDSO has a triple role. Specifically, it currently is called upon to:

- 1) manage a regional program shaped by mission programs and GHAI (Greater Horn of Africa Initiative) principles,
- 2) provide core and more limited technical services to missions in the region, and
- 3) manage programs in countries where USAID has no in-country presence (ibid.).

The strategy adopted by REDSO in 2000 was aimed at strengthening the capacity of, and partnering with, regional African organizations to achieve development results. It is a unifying strategy that contemplates “investing in regional African partners to achieve specific results that complement bilateral program efforts in the attainment of the [Africa] Bureau’s regional food security, conflict management and health priorities” (ibid.). In concrete detail:

The regional program will enhance the capacity of regional intergovernmental and non-governmental institutions to attain specific development objectives (“results”) that can best be achieved through regional forums and approaches. The approach to be used can be characterized as “strengthen, use and link” whereby organizations’ ability to pursue their agendas will be strengthened, the organizations will be expected to use their new strengths to achieve specific results and the organizations will be linked together to solve regional developmental challenges. Services to missions include the provision of both “core” (procurement, legal, financial, accounting/management, food for peace and Reg. 216 guidance) and more limited technical services directly supportive of regional capacity strengthening in sectors where REDSO has skills and where there is the most demand by missions. The management of non-presence country (NPC) programs includes Sudan, Somalia and Burundi, as well as others such as the Indian Ocean states (ibid.).

Implementation of so many of its own activities is a new direction for REDSO and one that puts new stresses and strains on a mission that, during the same period, has had to absorb its share of the budget and staff cuts that have so affected the performance, morale and “manageable interests” of USAID in the last few years.

Overall, the team found the mission rising to the challenge in praiseworthy fashion. But it should be noted that many of the activities that the team assessed predated or were coterminous with REDSO’s transition to an implementation-service organization. Thus, it is not appropriate to try to analyze them in terms of the current Strategic Plan, which dates back only to September 2000.

Currently, REDSO has identified the goal of A Healthy, Food Secure and Peaceful Region for its Strategic Plan for 2001-2005. Three Strategic Objectives have been formulated to address the elements of this goal:

- SO5: Enhanced African Capacity to Achieve Regional Food Security;
- SO6: Enhanced Capacity for Managing Conflict in the Region, and
- SO7: Enhanced Capacity to Improve Health Systems.

These three Strategic Objectives guide REDSO's main implementation activities during the period of the present Strategic Plan. In addition, REDSO will continue to have an important role as a service provider to missions in the region and as manager of the NPC programs (Strategic Plan 2000: 10).

B. OVERVIEW OF THE KENYA CONTEXT AND MISSION STRATEGY

Kenya is located in the greater horn of Africa and is considered to be an island of relative stability in a sea of chaos. Kenya has a population of 30 million with a growth rate of 2.2% annually. The average family size is 4.7 children, which is a significant drop from 8.1 children in 1976. 80% of Kenya's population lives in rural areas and is mainly dependent on agriculture. Agriculture accounts for 26 % of the GDP, which is currently estimated at \$10.5 billion.

Here is a brief overview of USAID's development strategy in Kenya: The ultimate goal of the USAID/Kenya program is to promote a well-governed and more prosperous Kenya. The four strategic objectives that support this goal are:

- SO3: Reduce fertility and the risk of HIV/AIDS transmission through sustainable, integrated family planning and health services.
- SO5: Improve natural resource management in targeted biodiverse areas, by and for stakeholders.
- SO6: Sustainable reforms and accountable governance strengthened to improve the balance of power among institutions of governance.
- SO7: Increase rural household incomes.

In order to implement this integrated strategy, the USAID/Kenya mission has chosen to work with various national and international partners who are implementing project activities in the specific sectors. The Integrated Strategic Plan (ISP) has been developed through a consultative process within the mission, as well as with various stakeholders and partners. It is therefore expected that its implementation will be participatory, with continued dialogue at all levels. It is also expected that linkages will be sought between the various SOs, in order to create a more holistic approach towards sustainable development. Since gender is recognized as a crosscutting issue, it is expected that it will be given visibility, and that indicators for its implementation and impact will be available.

C. OVERVIEW OF THE RWANDA CONTEXT AND STRATEGY

Rwanda is a small, densely populated, landlocked country in the Western part of Central Africa. It is bordered by the Democratic Republic of Congo (West), Burundi (South), Tanzania (East), and Uganda (North). Rwanda is predominantly rural and very mountainous. The steep

mountains and deep valleys that cover most of the country have earned Rwanda the nickname of “the land of a thousand hilltops.”

The topography limits the amount of land available for agricultural and pastoral activities. The economy is agriculturally based, and thus weather is a major factor in the stability of economic growth. Annual rainfall varies between 800-900 mm in the hilltop areas and from 1,400 to 12,800 mm in the mountains. The climate is mild, with annual temperatures averaging 25° C. However, the lowlands are subject to flooding during rain and frequent weather changes often result in the disruption of agricultural cycles and destroyed harvests.

Agricultural exports contribute about 40% of the Gross Domestic Product. The majority of these earnings come from the export of coffee, nearly 75%; the remaining exports include tungsten, tin, pyrethrum and tea. The principal food crops include plantain, sweet potato, beans, cassava, sorghum and maize, as well as avocados and other fruits. With limited additional cultivatable land and shrinking plot sizes of declining fertility, continued reliance on primary subsistence agriculture as the major means to feed the people and reduce poverty is not a viable long-term solution. Yet the population continues to grow at a resource-depleting rate.

Rwanda’s population is estimated at 8.5 million by the World Bank (<http://worldbank.org>), and is growing at 3.6% per year (doubling every 20 years). The population density is 317 people per square mile. Thus, topography, weather and too many people in too little space create a condition in which up to 25% of households lack sufficient food, and more than 65 percent of Rwanda’s population lives below the poverty line (USAID, R4 2001:7).

The nation has made significant progress along an ambitious path of reconstruction, national reconciliation and economic reform over the past eight years. The country is recovering from the 1994 genocide in which 850,000 people were killed in three months. Moreover, 200,000 people fled as a result of the violence. National reconciliation, security and economic recovery have been the priorities in the transition from emergency to development. Poverty reduction, justice and good governance are the key elements in the GOR current economic and social policies. The government has embarked on an ambitious program of sociopolitical reforms aimed at improving justice and governance and empowering the population through decentralization and democratization. However, the obstacles to development are many.

Here is a brief overview of USAID development strategy in Rwanda:

- USAID/Rwanda finds itself caught in the middle, struggling to balance between humanitarian aid and development assistance. The events of 1994 initially transformed the USAID/Rwanda effort into a largely humanitarian operation, providing almost \$600 million in emergency relief assistance, including nearly \$411 million in food assistance, to a large displaced population within the country and outside of its borders (Lalonde and Morel-Seytoux, 2002:4). However, with stability returning to the region and with more pressing needs elsewhere, the mission’s budget has been drastically reduced. In fiscal year 1998, USAID assistance to Rwanda was \$45.7 million, increasing slightly to \$49.3 million in FY 1999. By FY 2001 Rwanda received only \$25.85 million (USAID Fact Sheet/Rwanda). Thus, Rwanda is clearly a mission in transition.

The mission's current objective is to increase the stability and to strengthen the development capacity of the country. The mission's ISP, developed five years ago (1997), was intended for use during a two-year post-conflict phase. Later that same year, USAID/Washington approved a Transition Action Plan (TAP) for Rwanda. Because the mission and Washington recognized the special circumstances Rwanda was facing, the TAP served as an ISP during this period. As a result of the fluctuating political and social climate in and around Rwanda, the mission finds itself operating sometimes in response to emerging crisis, and, at other times, contributing to meaningful and lasting development. For example, the mission has had to work with more than 2,300,000 refugees, as well as attempt to build the capacity of a devastated and displaced workforce. The mission also must respond to conflict situations on the borders and/or natural disasters.

The 1994 conflict/genocide in Rwanda resulted in an imbalance between men and women in the population; as a result, women were clearly a targeted population for USAID/Rwanda benefits in the TAP. The mission is currently writing a new ISP. In preparation, the mission is taking the Women in Development message seriously and they are attempting to learn how to mainstream gender into all phases of the development process. To this end, they underwent a WIDTECH gender assessment in December 2001, and volunteered to participate in the present Regional Gender Impact Assessment.

The mission has three Strategic Objectives aimed at increasing the stability and strengthening the development capacity of the country:

- SO1: Increased Rule of Law and Transparency in Governance;
- SO2: Increased Use of Sustainable Health Services in Target Areas, and
- SO3: Increased Ability of Rural Families in Target Communities to Improve Household Food Security.

D. OVERVIEW OF THE TANZANIA CONTEXT AND STRATEGY

Tanzania is the 10th-largest country in Africa, 40% bigger than Texas. Its population is over 30,000,000 and burgeoning at the draining rate of about 2.8% a year. It has potential wealth in natural resources – for tourism as well as mining of minerals – and agriculture. Currently, agriculture occupies over 80% of the people and produces 60% of both GDP and exports. But Tanzania still has one of the lowest per capita incomes in the world, less than \$100 per person. A 1991 World Bank household survey found that 51% of the population lived on less than \$1 a day and things haven't improved much since (USAID/Tanzania Strategic Plan 1997-2003: 4).

Tanzania began the era of independence with a socialist system, high levels of growth and internal peace. The high levels of growth bogged down in the same mire of problems that have bedeviled other sub-Saharan countries, regardless of political system – fluctuating prices for the primary commodities exports they counted on to keep them afloat, rising levels of corruption, and some of the world's highest rates of population growth. Early achievements, such as 90% enrollment rates for primary school age children (achieved in 1979-80), slipped also (to 68% by the latter half of the 1990s; *ibid.*: 5). Tanzania's role in helping to topple Idi Amin brought it accolades from around the world but depleted the treasury, further tarnishing the early promise.

Two things have remained fairly constant from the socialist era to the present, when Tanzania is lurching toward a free market, multi-party democracy under President Benjamin Mkapa (he was elected in the first multiparty elections in 1995). First, Tanzania remains peaceful, a veritable oasis in the midst of the conflict that periodically continues to engulf its neighbors. Second, Tanzania continues to honor customary law and patriarchal norms in its treatment of women, despite public proclamations favoring gender equity and the increased status of women.

How can USAID/Tanzania best help this country, ranked as one of the five poorest in the world, handle its problems in the context of the transition to a more market-driven economy and greater democratization?

According to the mission's Strategic Plan 1997-2003: 9:

We have chosen Sustainable Economic Growth and Improved Human Welfare as our program goals. Without growth, increased opportunities for improving human welfare will not be possible and without improvements in human welfare, public support for democratic governance and a liberalized market economy would be difficult to maintain.

In turn, five Strategic Objectives were chosen to support these program goals:

- SO1: Increased use of family planning/maternal and child health (FP/MCH) and HIV/AIDS preventive measures.
- SO2: Foundation established for the adoption of environmentally sustainable natural resource management practices in Tanzania.
- SO3: Strong foundation for the transition to democratic government established.
- SO4: Increased private sector participation in the economy.
- SO5: Selective infrastructure improved.

In keeping with the parameters of this study, the SOs to be considered will be SO1, SO3 and SO4, insofar as they touch on the three sectors the gender impact assessment is charged to examine: health, democracy and governance, and economic growth.

2.2 OVERVIEW OF THE GENDER SITUATION IN THE EAST AFRICAN RESEARCH SITES

What is the relative position of women and men in the countries where the team carried out its fieldwork? Clearly, any gender-responsive programming by USAID has to be constructed on the foundation of the area's current gender situation. It is useful to begin with a statistical overview of gender in the four countries where fieldwork was carried out: Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. Wherever possible, United Nations statistics from 2000 have been used for this review.

TABLE 2
Overview of Gender Statistics in Four Countries Visited

1. Sex ratio (Women/100 Men, 2000): Averages below 100 indicate major female disadvantage in survival (ratio in developed countries=106/100; S-S Africa=102/100)

| | |
|----------|-----|
| Kenya | 100 |
| Rwanda | 102 |
| Tanzania | 102 |
| Uganda | 101 |

2. Total fertility rate (TFR; 1995-2000), contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR - % married women; 1991/1998), and female-headed households (FHH; 1991/1997)

| | <u>TFR</u> | <u>CPR</u> | <u>FHH</u> |
|----------|------------|------------|------------|
| Kenya | 4.5 | 39 | 33 |
| Rwanda | 6.2 | 21 | 34* |
| Tanzania | 5.9 | 18 | 22 |
| Uganda | 7.1 | 15 | 29 |

3. Mean age of marriage (1991/1997; women=W; men=M)

| | <u>W</u> | <u>M</u> |
|----------|----------|----------|
| Kenya | 21 | -- |
| Rwanda | -- | -- |
| Tanzania | 21 | -- |
| Uganda | 19 | 24 |

4. Life expectancy at birth (LEB; 1995-2000) & people living with HIV/AIDS (as of 12/97)

| | <u>LEB-W</u> | <u>LEB-M</u> | <u>%W</u> | <u>%M</u> | <u>Est. no.</u> |
|----------|--------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| Kenya | 53 | 51 | 49 | 51 | 1,600,000 |
| Rwanda | 42 | 39 | 49 | 51 | 370,000 |
| Tanzania | 49 | 47 | 49 | 51 | 1,400,000 |
| Uganda | 40 | 39 | 49 | 51 | 930,000 |

5. Education: illiteracy @ ages 25+ (1985/1996), and females' share of second level and third-level enrollment (1992/1997)

| | <u>W illiteracy</u> | <u>M illiteracy</u> | <u>F % 2d level</u> | <u>F % 3d level</u> |
|----------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Kenya | 54.2 (30**) | 26.0 | -- | -- |
| Rwanda | 48** | -- | 44 | -- |
| Tanzania | 43** | -- | 46 | 16 |
| Uganda | 50** | -- | 38 | 33 |

Source: United Nations 2000, except for * = Lueker 2002 and ** = Sivard 1995 (illit. =15+)

Statistics are not presented on labor force participation, given the fact that women's economic activity rates are known to be undercounted. This is particularly the case in low resource farming and informal sector/own-account endeavors, two economic sectors in which sub-Saharan African women are known to be heavily involved (classic statements of the problem include Anker 1983 and Dixon 1982). Statistics on female representation in parliament are available for 2001 for Uganda (23%) and Tanzania (22%) and for 1999 for Kenya (4%) and Rwanda (17%). It also is worth mentioning the sex ratio statistics in the table. The fact that the ratio is at least 100 indicates that there is no systematic discrimination that results in excess female deaths, which is not surprising considering women's importance as farmers: they are valued. The remainder of this discussion focuses on the gender situation in the economic and kinship systems, which, given the overwhelmingly rural nature of all four countries visited, proves to be critical in understanding the relative position of women and men in these countries. This is followed by some additional information about gender in the countries where the three bilateral missions assessed are located: Kenya, Rwanda and Tanzania.

A. GENDER DIVISION OF LABOR, RESOURCES AND INCOME IN THE REGION

It can be stated that the bulk of cultivation, especially of food crops, is done by women farmers. But unlike the situation in West Africa, where well-developed local markets dominated by female traders may date back for centuries (see e.g. Sudarkasa 1973), East African marketing of crops and animals, as well as some processed by-products and handicrafts, is generally done by men, who control the resultant income. Consequently, East African women farmers are much less likely to control any significant returns from the fruits of their labors. Moreover, when an activity whose proceeds previously were under women's control starts to become more than marginally profitable, there is a tendency for men to take over the lion's share of the returns (Staudt 1987).

B. KINSHIP ORGANIZATION AND WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION IN THE REGION

Most East African ethnic groups have kinship systems that historically have tended to disadvantage women. An important factor is that they are overwhelmingly patrilineal in descent and patrilocal in residence. Under such systems, women have been wholly or partially excluded from inheritance of land and other resources, and must go to live with/near the husband's male kin. Such a patrilocal residence pattern assures men of a long-established natural group of allies. In contrast, women in most such East African groups have tended to be much less organized. Even though the legal and social environment is changing and new laws have been enacted in Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda and Uganda that recognize women's rights to land, many obstacles remain to women achieving equal land inheritance. For example, in Uganda, the "land clause" that would have ensured women's land rights was taken out of the final Land Law and implementation of the positive aspects for women is clouded by the fact that customary laws, which disadvantage women, were left in place. The net result is that most East African women's access to and control over economic resources generally remains precarious.

C. THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE GENDER IMBALANCE IN ECONOMIC POWER AND ORGANIZATION

Their relatively low degree of economic power and low level of traditional organization mean that East African women have little leverage to negotiate with their husbands on a wide range of issues, from fertility patterns to safe sex to the education and healthcare of their children. This stems from the empirical (as well as theoretical) link between greater control of economic resources and greater voice in decisions on fertility, sexuality and children's well-being/human capital formation. (These relationships are presented in Appendix F.)

2.3 COUNTRY-LEVEL BACKGROUND ON GENDER IN KENYA, RWANDA AND TANZANIA

Prior to presenting the mission-level fieldwork analyses, it is useful to provide some additional contextual information concerning the gender situation in each of the three countries where a bilateral mission was assessed.

A. THE GENDER SITUATION IN KENYA

Though Kenya may appear to be more developed than the other countries in the region, there are many factors that lead to social imbalance among men and women. The role of women is subordinated to that of men in almost all spheres of life. Most communities in the country are patrilineal and patrilocal, and therefore men are the heads of households and clans. Women do not normally participate in decision-making. This traditional decision-making structure has heavily influenced the modern structures of governance in Kenya, from the grassroots to the national level. Currently the Kenyan parliament has only 3.5% women, while the local authorities have a representation of only 8.1% of women.¹ While there was a marginal increase in the percentage of parliamentary seats in 1997 it should be noted that the number of elected women actually dropped, although more women were nominated.² At the village level, there is usually a token representation of women, with one woman being appointed to represent the interests of women among the elders. Kenya is really at the bottom in terms of women's representation in institutions of governance in East Africa. In Tanzania and Uganda, a number of seats are reserved for women in recognition of their past disadvantage and they are well over 20% of Members of Parliament (MPs). But in Kenya, in response to the affirmative action motion made to Parliament, which has been demonized by some of the top leaders, President Daniel Arap Moi is reported to have said:

Most leaders and other MPs today believe in toxic ideas. Ladies in particular. I don't believe in affirmative action for women. This I say openly.

Nevertheless, the wind of change continues to blow in Kenya. The affirmative action motion has now been referred to the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission and there could be a breakthrough in addressing gender discrimination in terms of political participation.

¹ Kenya Human Development Report, 1999

² Kenya Country Gender Profile

In terms of economic empowerment, the gender balance is again heavily skewed to benefit men. Traditional land ownership and inheritance systems continue to marginalize women. Though women play a major role in the production of food and cash crops, they do not have control of the ensuing income. This applies to the traditional cash crops of coffee and tea: Women put in a great deal of labor, yet due to the marketing structures, the income is mainly controlled by men. Therefore, there have been attempts to commercialize some of the crops whose production and marketing are controlled by women, with a view to increasing female disposable income. The team's analysis of the Economic Growth Strategic Objective found, however, that after increased production, some of those crops again fell into the hands of men due to their greater advantage in the control of resources. One of the male interviewees recounted the following situation that is very telling of male attitudes with respect to access to and control of resources:

A woman who had worked very hard in her women's group acquired a heifer and brought it home with a high sense of achievement. When she showed her husband the new acquisition, she was reminded:
"This heifer and everything else in this compound, including you, belongs to me. I can do whatever I want with all of you."

While women are making headway in the employment sector, they are still far from making significant gains. In the public service sector women occupy only about 5% of the middle level and senior level positions. Women were for a long time marginalized in education and this has deterred their ascent to the highest levels in both the public and private sector. This, however, does not justify the dismal performance of the government in the appointment of women to positions of power. The question as to whether women can perform in high profile jobs in Kenya is still under debate, even when they have been tested and proven capable. This is further complicated by the current economic recession, where retrenchment is the order of the day, leaving many men and women jobless. Many of them are trying to find their place in the already crowded informal sector.

Decision-making in reproductive health and family planning issues is also in the male domain. In most cases the intervention measures have focused mainly on maternal/child health facilities. While these services serve a purpose, the women who attend the clinics do not have control over their own sex lives. For HIV/AIDS interventions to be effective, there is a need to target male attitudes and behavior. This is critical because the sero-prevalence rate for women of reproductive age is much higher than that of men in the corresponding age group, and the impact of AIDS is expected to reduce the Gross Domestic Product by 14.5% in the next 10 years (Kenya National HIV/AIDS Strategic Plan 2000-2005).

In sum, the gender imbalances cut across all the SOs the USAID/Kenya Mission is addressing. It is of great importance that the interventions be sensitive to gender in their targeting because inattention to this issue could easily take away gains made by women.

B. THE GENDER SITUATION IN RWANDA

The Government of Rwanda is committed to the idea of gender mainstreaming. It created a fully funded ministry (MIGEPROFE) that maintains an active portfolio. MIGEPROFE's activities include support of women's grassroots organizations, 15,400 of which have been set up since 1994 (Newbury and Baldwin 2000:2); USAID funds some of these organizations.

MIGEPROFE, using data from UNICEF and the 1996 Demographic Survey, reports that (a) the country is 90% rural, (b) the prevalence of poverty is four times higher in rural areas than in urban, and (c) female-headed households, with a lack of adult labor, make up the majority of poor rural households. As a result of the civil war and genocide, 21.5% of adult women are widows and furthermore, women head 34% of households. Finally, the 1996 Demographic Survey also shows that women comprise 54.3 % of the Rwandan population and 60 % of the population in the productive age bracket. According to MIGEPROFE's National Gender Plan of Action, 56% of all Rwandans are illiterate, of whom 52% are females and 48% are males. These figures clearly demonstrate a situation of gender imbalance with major implications for the country's development process in terms of the equal participation of all citizens.

The 1994 genocide created a new set of social relations among and between women and men but women continue to face high levels of physical violence. In the words of a senior female civil servant, "it is not that there was no violence against women before, but traditionally these internal family matters were kept quiet" (http://www.ucl.ac.uk/DPU/40_hands.htm#Rwanda). Now women are encouraged to talk and the legal system is seriously looking into ways to punish rape. Women's Councils were set up at all levels throughout the country. In 1999, women gained the right to inherit and the right to property. In post-conflict Rwanda, women have to assume roles and positions in society for which traditional Rwandese culture did not prepare them.

Three key processes have already taken place in Rwanda since the genocide: the formulation of a new Constitution, the development of a National Poverty Reduction Strategy, and the creation of a National Gender Policy. In addition, Rwanda has embarked on an extensive decentralization program. These processes represent unique opportunities to mainstream gender as a crucial variable in development planning.

C. THE GENDER SITUATION IN TANZANIA

Under socialism, a minority lived under the *ujamaa* village system, which was supposed to be the vehicle for cooperation and development. Women generally fared somewhat better than in the non-ujamaa sector. Tanzania's agricultural economy in both sectors, however, relied on women for most of the labor. And the women received few of the rewards for their labor, socialist theory notwithstanding: control of the land remained firmly in the hands of men, as did inheritance of other assets and, generally, the income from any cash-producing activities.³

What has happened in the post-socialist period? In a nutshell, the picture is mixed with some bright spots as the Government of Tanzania (GOT) continues to maintain a contradictory policy concerning gender and women's rights. On the one hand, it proclaims goals of gender equity; on the other hand, it continues to uphold customary patriarchal law and norms.

Looking at the positive side, during the socialist era and extending to the present day, the GOT has proclaimed the need for gender equity and affirmative action.

³ According to Mukangara and Koda 1997: 22, actual ownership of the land continues to be vested in the President as trustee on behalf of all citizens; this was reaffirmed in the 1995 National Land Policy. It was again reaffirmed in the 1999 Land Act.

It also has actually undertaken some programs in this direction, especially in the **educational sphere**. Under socialism, universal primary education was mandated and gender parity was achieved. Additionally, the GOT campaigned to increase the proportions of females in post-primary education, although with more modest success; to this day, there are huge imbalances, to females' disadvantage, in high school and university enrollments. For example, females are only 30.3% of high school students and a much smaller proportion in the universities. In the University of Dar es Salaam, in the days of affirmative action policies in the 1970s and early 1980s, enrollment of women crept up, reaching 19.6% in 1983. But the proportion of women fell to 14% in 1993, during a period when affirmative action measures ceased (Mukangara and Koda 1997: 42-44). More recently, as resource pressures have worsened, even primary school enrollments have been dropping (USAID/Tanzania Strategic Plan 1997-2003:5).

Looking at the negative side, women's **economic position** — with respect to control of land, income and other assets — has improved little. First, until the 1999 Land Act and Village Land Act, the government had not attempted to be proactive in making customary law more equitable to women — and even now the still-untouched inheritance and marriage laws preclude implementation of the more women-friendly aspects of the Acts (Kibamba and Johnson n.d.). Second, the customary system has worked to women's great disadvantage, especially in the rural areas. Specifically, a main reason for women's disadvantaged position vis-à-vis land resides in the kinship system: Of the 120 ethnic groups in the country, some 80% are patrilineal and practice patrilineal inheritance of property (Mukangara and Koda 1997: 38); indeed, even some of the matrilineal groups give the lion's share of inheritance to adult sons and mothers' full brothers (ibid: 36). Muslim women are entitled to half-share inheritance, which puts them ahead of non-Muslim women coming from patrilineal groups, although only half-way to parity. Overall, then, most women remain marginalized from economic power. And it is economic power that is arguably the most important factor affecting relative gender equality (see, e.g., Blumberg 1984, 1991, 1995, 2001).

In contrast, **political empowerment** is a generally bright spot in the gender picture. The government has promoted greater female representation and has succeeded at the national level. The most recent statistics show almost 22% women in parliament, part of a rising trend that owes a great deal to affirmative action policies. In 1990, prior to such policies, women were 5.4% of MPs. For the 1995 elections, the government decreed that the previous set-aside of 15 seats would be replaced by 15% (minimum) female representation. Actually, that led to 45 women parliamentarians, 16.4% of the total of 275 members. The most recent figures show 12 women elected in contested seats plus 48 women in guaranteed seats, for a total of 21.8% (compiled from Mukangara and Koda 1997: 35-36 and February 2002 interviews with Sean Hall, USAID and Mary Rusimbi, TGNP).

The GOT's affirmative action target of 25% for local government elective seats, however, has fared far worse. There is no enforcement of the announced quota and women comprised only 6% of the 86,227 village council members in 1993 (Mukangara and Koda 1997: 34).

With respect to **work**, the picture darkens again. Statistics presented by Mukangara and Koda 1997: 25-34 indicate the following:

- Women work longer hours than men in the rural areas (14 hours vs. 10 hours) and have much lower access to technical assistance and credit for their farming.
- In addition, while the Labor Force Survey for 1991/92 found that, nationally, women constitute 50.2% of the economically active population, only 20% of women are in paid employment and they average only half the income of their male counterparts (Tshs 580 vs. Tshs 1,180; women in the informal sector also earn about half as much as men).
- And women are rare in the middle and senior levels of the civil service (19%), the majority working in personnel administration.

In the **health sector**, much of the news is bad and some of it might be attributed to women's relatively low economic power, as described above. First, the population growth rate is still agonizingly high: 2.8% a year, a level that depletes resources that otherwise might be used for economic growth or increased social welfare (Hess 1988).

The total fertility rate is 5.8 children (1993 data cited in USAID/Tanzania Strategic Plan 1997-2003: 5). The contraceptive prevalence rate is low but improving – 15.3% for modern methods in 1999, up from around 11% from 1994 through 1996 and only 6% three years earlier (USAID/Tanzania R4 – 2002 (April 2000): 9; Strategic Plan:15). That is not the whole story, however: in 1996, 11.3% of women used modern methods of family planning. But fully 56% of women surveyed said they **would like to** space or limit births (ibid.). Why the discrepancy? Contraceptive availability and affordability clearly play roles. But it may be that much of the gap is caused by women not having final say in their reproductive and family planning decisions.

Specifically, there are a number of studies that support the hypothesis that greater control of economic resources is linked to greater say over fertility (see, e.g., Blumberg 1988, 1993, 2001). Women's high fertility may, in part, reflect their lack of control of economic resources.

Similarly, other research supports the link between economic power and control over sexuality. HIV/AIDS is increasing by leaps and bounds, 80% spread through unprotected heterosexual sex (Mukangara and Koda 1997: 53). Economically dependent women are in no position to negotiate safe sex: neither that their partner use a condom with them nor, at minimum, that he do so when with another partner. The data are accumulating that women are infected at much younger ages than men throughout Africa (peaking, in Tanzania, at 20-24 for women, vs. 25-35 for men; ibid.). This exacerbates the problem of AIDS orphans as well as the burdens of the older women and school-age girls who increasingly are the caretakers of last resort for those children.

Another health- and economic-power linked problem involves nutrition. There are many studies that support the hypothesis that men and women spend income under their control differently, with women holding back less for themselves and devoting their resources more single-mindedly to the nutrition, education and health of their children (the theoretical argument is in Blumberg 1988, 1991; see Blumberg 2001 for some of the latest empirical references). So women's low economic power is arguably linked to both their own poor nutrition levels as well as the statistics that 42.7% of children in Tanzania are stunted and 29% are underweight (Mukangara and Koda 1997:52).

The implications of these gender imbalances cut across all the SOs that USAID/Tanzania is addressing, including all three sectors that will be the focus of attention in the remainder of this report: Health/HIV/AIDS, Democracy and Governance, and Economic Growth.

* * *

Before proceeding to the detailed analysis of what the team found, it is worthwhile to preview how the findings are organized and the rationale for this order of presentation. Organizationally, all four “paper trail” analyses are found under a single heading (The “Paper Trail”). Then, the following major heading presents the fieldwork findings for each of the four missions. This organizational format has been chosen because missions were in different phases of the Strategic Plan cycle and in some cases, the fieldwork assessed activities conceived under a previous Strategic Plan. Therefore, no meaningful direct comparisons of “paper trail” and fieldwork activities could be made. At the same time, it is meaningful to group analyses of how each of the four missions dealt with gender in the **same set of required reporting documents**. It also is meaningful to group analyses of fieldwork visits in terms of each mission’s partners, sub-partners and clients, as is done in the subsequent section.

One additional organizational caveat is necessary. Team members undertook content analysis of the same set of required reporting documents but presented their findings in different formats in the individual mission reports.⁴ Moreover, because each of the missions numbered and emphasized the Democracy and Governance/Conflict, Economic Growth/Food Security and Health/HIV/AIDS SOs somewhat differently, the order of presentation for these three sectors varies in each of the mission reports. In this Synthesis Report, the order of presentation from each separate Mission report is maintained, as better reflects each Mission’s situation.

⁴ Originally, the Kenya report was drafted by Miriam Gachago, the Rwanda report was drafted by Lorna Lueker and the REDSO, Synthesis and Tanzania reports were drafted by Rae Lesser Blumberg.

3.0 THE PAPER TRAIL

3.1 OVERVIEW

In all four missions, the team went over the Strategic Objectives (SOs) and the associated Intermediate Results (IRs) and sub-IRs. In fact, the entire “paper trail” of required reporting documents was analyzed: Strategic Plans, R4s (Results Review and Resource Request) and, where available, Performance Monitoring Plans (PMPs).

In preview, attention to gender in those documents was generally low and/or inconsistent. There was a frequently observed pattern of gender discussions – and indicators – being “squeezed out” of a mission’s paper trail over the time period analyzed. The assessment team’s hypothesis is that new reporting requirements, such as the R4s, with tightly limited page counts, made it difficult for missions to devote space to gender, despite its status as a cross-cutting issue that is still mandated by the Agency’s Automatic Directives System (ADS). Also, the ADS guidance is not clear and sanctions for not including gender appear to be slight or non-existent. Moreover, space limitations kept most missions’ R4s focused on the SO and IR level, while gender-disaggregated indicators tend to be at the sub-IR level. Unfortunately, the new Annual Report that is replacing the R4 has even stricter space limitations.

3.2 REDSO’S PAPER TRAIL

To provide a capsule preview of the findings of the analysis of REDSO’s “paper trail,” it revealed (a) some strong initial language and perceptive analyses of gender in its Strategic Plan, with (b) less and less attention to gender or women in its Strategic Objectives, Intermediate Results Indicators and latest R4. Because the Strategic Plan is the least formalized and page-limited of these documents, these findings may be interpreted as a possible example of how recent overarching Agency reporting requirements may be contributing to a “partial de-institutionalization of gender.” In any event, it is worth presenting the analysis as an illustration of the problem of how gender may be squeezed out of a mission’s program – even when people who recognize the importance of gender and, indeed, have considerable expertise in gender analysis are involved.

A. GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE STRATEGIC PLAN 2001-2005

The REDSO/ESA *Strategic Plan 2001-2005: Strengthening Partnerships and Capacity* was approved in September 2000. Exclusive of introductory material and appendices, the Strategic Plan runs to almost 70 pages of text. Gender and/or women are mentioned 13 times, with four of those mentions so perceptive or detailed that they will be presented below. Gender is presented as a preliminary indicator in two of the three new Strategic Objectives adopted by REDSO for the period of the Strategic Plan – but these draft indicators disappear entirely from the formal statement of the SOs and IRs. Gender also is mentioned in passing another six times, and in an “illustrative result” concerning the development of appropriate technologies. Later in this report, this last mention will be revisited in a discussion of the contrasting cases of how gender was treated in a cassava vs. a sweet potato activity.

The first of the four detailed discussions of gender comes at the beginning of the Strategic Plan's Summary: The first subhead after the "Introduction" is "Regional Overview," and most of the third of its four paragraphs discusses gender:

A large gap remains between men's and women's opportunities and participation in economic and social development. Women and children are the most vulnerable to conflict in the region, and shoulder the burden of economic rebuilding. While women are increasingly playing important roles as peacemakers and mediators, the expected rapid rise in AIDS orphans means the numbers of young men eligible for recruitment as participants in various conflicts is also likely to increase (Strategic Plan 2000:8)

In the body of the Strategic Plan, gender is again prominently discussed as the seventh of 12 issues in the "Regional Overview: Trends in the 1990s" section, immediately following the "Introduction." Because of the expertise in gender and development that shines through this discussion, it is worthwhile to quote it in its entirety.

Insufficient Progress on Gender: Although African women have made significant advances over the last three decades there is still a large gap between men's and women's opportunities and their participation in economic and social development. Studies suggest that if African women were given equal access to education and other productive resources, national growth rates could be as much as 0.8 percentage points higher (World Bank 2000). Economic and legal barriers, as well as social discrimination, continue to prevent women in Africa from improving their status and productivity and achieving their full potential. These disparities have persisted despite the high returns to society from investments in women's education and health. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa provides grim statistics on African women (ECA 1999:25-32). It notes that 70 percent of all African women over 25 are illiterate compared to 40 percent in East and South East Asia; 45 percent of African females are under the age of 15; and, fifty percent of women marry before the age of 18. Maternal mortality rates in sub-Saharan Africa are the highest in the world accounting for 40 percent of the world's maternal deaths (1,500 per 100,000 births); the fertility rate of 6.0 is the highest in the world with contraceptive prevalence rates the lowest in the world. Finally, the HIV/AIDS pandemic is increasing more rapidly among women than men in Africa.

The unequal power relations between men and women in all spheres are played out with special poignancy in the sexual arena where women and young girls are often forced into sexual relations through economic coercion or physical violence. Women and children are the most vulnerable from the numerous wars and conflicts in the region (Byrne 1995) and at the same time shoulder the burden of reconstruction as new heads of households. The exclusion of women's input to public policies and programs reinforces gender inequalities and denies African society the social and economic gains to be made from women's full participation in development. Fortunately, changes are beginning to emerge and women are increasingly taking more active and visible roles particularly as peacemakers and mediators in the region. For instance, Somali and Burundian women have insisted that they be part of peace discussions in their countries (Strategic Plan 2000:19-20).

Part Two of the Strategic Plan is titled “REDSO’s Roles and Responsibilities,” and gender is explicitly discussed as one of them (it is the fifth of six subheads). This, too, merits quoting in full because it shows what REDSO perceives to be its charge with respect to gender:

Gender: REDSO is committed to enhancing women’s roles in economic and social development by providing a full time FSN staff member to provide services to missions on gender issues. In addition, REDSO has identified regional partners involved in gender studies and advocacy work who have the potential to take the lead in articulating women’s concerns in regional and international forums. One partner is the Eastern African Sub-Regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women (EA-SSI). EA-SSI has facilitated networking and expanded collaboration and information sharing between the different actors and stakeholders in eastern Africa addressing issues identified at the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing Platform for Action).

Another potential partner to advance regional women’s concerns is the ECA’s Africa Center for Women. As the UN entity charged with ensuring the implementation of the Beijing and Africa Platforms for Action, the ECA is the most legitimate regional organization that can present gender-sensitive policy issues for consideration to regional governments.

REDSO will develop specific gender based indicators and the collection of disaggregated data, where appropriate, as PMPs [Performance Monitoring Plans] are developed for each SO. REDSO also will consider collecting and tracking comparative statistics on gender issues in the region where there can be value added to results management, implementation and evaluation of programs through the use of this information. While gender services are needed in the region, REDSO’s gender advisor is likely to focus attention on the implementation of the regional program. Therefore, REDSO, AFR/SD and G/WID will need to consider how best to meet the needs for gender services by missions in the region (Strategic Plan 2000:36).

However, as will be seen below, the gender disaggregation of indicators and data discussed in the preceding paragraph did not take place because none of the SOs and IRs that ultimately were developed even mentioned gender. This is the case even for the new SO about food security (SO 5). Given African women’s prominence as farmers in general, and producers of food crops in particular (Saito and Weidemann’s influential 1990 World Bank publication credits African female farmers with growing up to 80 percent of locally grown food), it seems absolutely essential to consider gender and, specifically, women farmers, in any statement about a food security SO. The Strategic Plan initially does this: gender is sensitively analyzed in the third paragraph of the five paragraphs of the SO Problem Statement and merits reading in full:

Gender is a critical dimension of food security. Women throughout Africa play a dominant role as farmers, agricultural workers, care-givers for both children and people living with HIV/AIDS, and as natural resource managers. New studies indicate that household food security depends not only on the income, but also on who earns that income. When women control their income there is a direct contribution and improvement to household food security and child nutrition. Given these critical gender dimensions, regional food security strategies must ensure positive impacts of new technologies on women as well as rectify women’s limited access to policy and decision-

making forums. Empowering women to participate meaningfully in regional affairs is a key step and the level at which this SO will focus (Strategic Plan 2000:45).

Indeed, at first it appears that gender will be dealt with: the very first statement of indicators for SO5 (Enhanced African Capacity to Achieve Regional Food Security) includes five indicators, and the fifth one is “Gender concerns incorporated into programs and policies of selected partners” (Strategic Plan 2000:48). Unfortunately, there is no mention of this gender indicator in the formal statement of the SO, IRs and sub-IRs contained in subsequent sections of the document.

But that is the pattern: In the formal and terse Agency-mandated reporting, gender tends to fall between the cracks. A similar fate occurs with the preliminary gender indicator for IR 6.1 of the conflict resolution SO (African Conflict Management Organizations Strengthened). The indicator, “Gender concerns incorporated into programs and policies of selected partners,” appears on p. 61, but is absent in the formally stated sub-IRs for 6.1 (see the chart on p. 60).

C. GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE LATEST REDSO R4

In preview, the pattern of gender being mentioned only minimally in required Agency reporting is clearly revealed in an analysis of REDSO’s latest Results Review and Resource Request (R4), issued on December 4, 2001 (i.e., the first R4 following the adoption of the new Strategic Plan).

The R4 document has strict page limits: There are only some 40 pages of text that encompass not only the “Overview Factors Affecting Program Performance,” but also the full texts and discussion of six SOs (including the current three, SO5 on enhanced food security, SO6 on enhanced capacity to manage conflict, and SO7 on enhanced capacity to improve health systems (with special emphasis on HIV/AIDS)). Here, one looks in vain for even a single meaty gender analysis of the sort quoted above for the Strategic Plan.

Unlike the Strategic Plan, there is not a single paragraph of text devoted to gender analysis in the R4. There are a total of nine references to gender and/or women in the document, but these are basically phrases mentioned in passing. The following are examples:

- *P. 15 mentions: “Services are also rendered in crosscutting areas such as gender issues, monitoring, evaluations and impact assessment.”*
- *P. 22 contains the only gender disaggregation of a people-level indicator in the R4: “The Uganda National Seed Potato Producers Association (UNSPPA) was created in 1997 with 10 members with the assistance of the potato network and now has 25 seed growers (nine women).” In contrast, there is no gender disaggregation of the participants sent to various health-related trainings, workshops, etc. that are summarized on p. 31.*
- *P. 23 provides the only full paragraph on women in the document, but it is purely descriptive and contains no gender analysis: “The Eastern Africa Sub-Regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women (EASSI) is a non-governmental organization dedicated to tracking the progress of member countries in meeting*

commitments made at the...Beijing Conference in 1995. REDSO/ESA's institution building and program support resulted in EASSI being named by the United Nation's Economic Commission for Africa as the official organization reporting on Eastern Africa's progress on advancing the status of women at the June 2000 Beijing +5 meetings. EASSI lobbies both member states as well as inter-governmental organizations to improve the status of women in the region."

- *The remaining references are fleeting phrases; most concern women having been found to be good at conflict management and resolution. And there is one phrase on p. 51 – the sole mention for the health SO, in fact – in a sentence calling for the identification of better practices from the region. Here gender is in a parenthesis: "(including gender differentiated approaches)."*

The recently approved Performance Monitoring Plan (PMP) completes the story of the squeezing out of gender – but now as a by-product of the fact that the current set of PMP indicators are not at the people level. Later in this report the possibility is raised of revisiting the PMP to attempt to change this state of affairs.

Meanwhile, summarizing the document analysis, the sparse attention to gender in the first R4 after the inauguration of the Strategic Plan indicates that strict page limits and a final formulation of the SOs and IRs that fail to mention gender combine to give it short shrift. Given the appreciable level of gender expertise and commitment the team found among key REDSO staff, it hoped that despite the "squeeze" on gender in the formal reporting indicators and documents, the fieldwork would reveal more going on than was found in the paper trail. In preview, that proved to be the case, but attention to gender varied widely, was linked to individuals and not institutional dictates, and was often weak.

3.3 KENYA

A. MISSION STRATEGY AND ITS GENDER RESPONSIVENESS

The USAID/Kenya mission strategy is enunciated in the Integrated Strategic Plan (ISP) 2001-2005. This strategy does recognize, from the outset, the different roles played by men and women in their program activities. Gender does not, however, come out very clearly in the specific Strategic Objectives (SOs) as seen below.

B. HEALTH AND HIV/AIDS

Strategic Objective 3: Reduce fertility and the risk of HIV/AIDS transmission through sustainable, integrated family planning and health services

In the problem analysis, it is noted that HIV prevalence has continued to rise, especially among the youth, and with young girls at greatest risk. A section is dedicated to gender issues and the following issues are discussed:

- Gender disparities continue to exist in education and in participation in the formal sector;

- Social and cultural practices continue to enforce gender disparities, thus preventing women from achieving their full potential;
- Women in Kenya have access to contraceptive information and are, therefore, better able to make decisions about their lives;
- Young women do not have as much access to health information as do older women;
- The quality of services given to women needs to be improved in order to emphasize women-controlled or -initiated contraceptives;
- Men are integral to reducing fertility and HIV/AIDS transmission;
- The differences between men and women's attitudes towards pregnancy, early marriage, and STD transmission need to be recognized, and
- The need to encourage positive behavior by men in the prevention of HIV/AIDS is underlined.

In defining the users of the health services, it is stated that they are 14.8 million men and women of reproductive age, and 4.8 million children under 5 years of age

The above statements show that for effective service delivery, it is important to keep gender issues at the forefront, in order to know from the outset what services will go to men and to women. It might therefore be expected that specific strategies and indicators would be developed. The following analysis of the results framework, however, shows a different picture.

Analysis of SO3 Results Framework

The results framework gives an overview of what will be achieved within the program over time. It goes further to provide the indicators that will be used to measure performance. If gender is considered as a results area, then it should be carefully woven into the framework, so that it can be evaluated together with all the other project variables. Instead, gender was addressed in only one Intermediate Result (IR), and only one set of IR indicators were gender disaggregated. Because the mission's projects are implemented by other parties, the absence of gender-based indicators makes it difficult to develop a monitoring system that will be able to track performance on gender issues through the project cycle.

In discussion with the SO team, it was very clear that the skills for gender mainstreaming were low and needed to be strengthened. Due to this lack of skills, the SO team did not make demands for specific gender indicators from their project partners.

Sample R4s for FY 2001 and 2003 tell the same story as the ISP. Women are mentioned as recipients of MCH/RH services, and their role in fertility control is also discussed. Customers for various services are not disaggregated by gender, however. This is especially critical in information pertaining to the HIV/AIDS crisis, which has affected men and women differently. The scanty reference to gender considerations has various implications for the program:

- The program interventions may not be properly targeted to address various gender disparities already identified;
- The intervention may further marginalize those who are already disadvantaged;
- It will not be possible to measure gender impact at any point during implementation, and
- No gender-based results can be reported by the SO team to the higher levels.

C. DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE

Strategic Objective 6: Sustainable reforms and accountable governance strengthened to improve the balance of power among the institutions of governance

The **problem analysis** for DG does not recognize gender issues in governance. This is surprising when Kenyan women continue to be marginalized so much in relation to participation in democracy and governance in the country. The national problems of corruption, human rights abuses, deterioration of public services, electoral manipulation, institutional development and political culture are all discussed without mentioning gender considerations.

Gender is recognized at the **results level**, however, where it is identified as a crosscutting theme. The discussion indicates that promotion of democratic change would not be complete if women continued to be excluded from the institutions of governance. Gender is also recognized at the **indicator level**. However, gender is not mainstreamed in the analytical structure of the IRs. The identification of the issues to be addressed would give some guidance both to the SO team and to the specific project implementers.

Accordingly, while there are some indicators to measure the gender responsiveness of the project activities, it would be unfair to subject the activity to those indicators if the issues have not been addressed during the process of planning and implementation. The process of achieving the set targets must also be taken into account. For example, for one to arrive at the disaggregated data on voters, targets should have been disaggregated by male and female voters to be reached. The strategy for achieving those targets would also need to include gender considerations (e.g., devising strategies to reach women in areas where they do not participate in public forums is very important).

In contrast to the DG problem analysis, the R4s for FY2001 and FY2003 both recognize the importance of the participation of women in the achievement of political reform. The 2001 R4 looks at one of the previous IRs where it was stated, “Civil society strengthened with emphasis on women’s participation.” It goes on to show how that participation has been achieved through the lobbying and advocacy programs of the CSOs. The role of women in the constitutional review process is also recognized. In the FY2003 R4, women and men are recognized as distinctive constituents. It also recognizes that emphasis on women’s participation has taken center stage as a result of the affirmative action and the equality bills. The mainstreaming of gender in other project activities also started to gain visibility.

In general, then, this SO has given some attention to gender issues, although more so in the R4s than the ISP. It is, however, noted that the lack of specific gender indicators weakens any measurement of gender responsiveness that may be attempted.

The interviews with the SO team indicated a high level of gender awareness within the team. Their analysis of issues was also very clear. The SO team had a specific officer who was expected to monitor the mainstreaming of gender issues in the program. This seems to be working well within the SO team, as well as within the partner organizations, even though it is not reflected in the SO paper trail.

D. ECONOMIC GROWTH

Strategic Objective 7: Increased rural household incomes

In the ISP, the role of women in agriculture and micro and small enterprise (MSE) is acknowledged from the outset, in contrast to the lack of attention to gender issues in governance found in the ISP's problem analysis for DG (as noted above). The recognition of the fact that women contribute between 75% and 80% of the labor in food and cash crop production, receive only about 7% of extension services and yet adopt technologies at the same rate as the men is an indication that gender issues would be addressed in the course of program design, implementation and monitoring. The constraints faced by both men and women are discussed in the problem analysis, and one would hope that the strategies developed to address the constraints would be gender responsive.

In the analysis of results to be achieved, however, the gender issues become blurred. Except for the recognition that there are male and female targets to be addressed, it is not clear that the analysis would lead to the development of strategies that would be targeted to men or women because of their special needs.

It is important to note that the Agriculture, Business and Environment Office (ABEO) conducted a gender analysis of the agri-business strategy in 1997. The results of that gender analysis were used in developing the ISP. The inclusion of products that would enhance women's incomes is noted. Non-traditional cash crops, the development of new technologies and the development of financial and non-financial services are all areas that have a very big impact on gender issues, and which generally contribute to women's empowerment. More generally, access to and control of a country's productive resources is a very important element in gender analysis. The issues of economic empowerment have a definite bearing on other issues, such as health and governance – and the need to consider their gender impacts is very crucial.

It is, however, important to note that this analysis is weak in the area of indicators that would measure gender mainstreaming in the program. These indicators should not only be at the impact level, but also should deal with the process of implementation. This would ensure that gender issues are considered at all stages of the project cycle

In contrast to the ISP, the R4s for 2001 and 2003 do not analyze gender issues in any detail – another apparent instance of the “squeezing out” of gender in the page-limited R4s. While women were recognized as farmers and MSE participants, there is a need to deal with problems that could have occurred due to gender issues in the implementation of the program. To reiterate, the lack of specific monitoring indicators makes it difficult to measure achievement.

Access to and control of a country's productive resources is a very important element in gender analysis. The issues of economic empowerment have a definite bearing on other issues, such as health and governance – and the need to consider their gender impacts is very crucial.

To recap, the paper trail generally starts by giving strong statements on the importance of mainstreaming gender into the mission activities, with much less attention to gender in the R4s. Moreover, in most cases, the issues are not sufficiently unpacked to provide guidance to program

implementers. The indicators also need to be strengthened at all levels to ensure that gender impact will be measurable.

3.4 RWANDA

A. MISSION STRATEGY AND ITS GENDER RESPONSIVENESS

As noted above, the Rwanda mission underwent a gender assessment just two months before the arrival of this team. Another team, sent by WIDTECH, conducted the assessment. The presence of the other team, just prior to this team's visit, both hindered and helped our understanding of gender awareness and gender mainstreaming practices in Rwanda. The previous team was instrumental in alerting the USAID/Rwanda mission personnel that they lacked serious consideration of gender in their plans and activities, and that ongoing gender analysis was not part of their regular program. However, this team was hampered slightly by the previous assessment. Some SO teams and partners felt that they had just told their story and that they did not have time to tell it again.⁵ Nevertheless, it should be noted that people who were very busy remained very gracious, and gave as much time as possible to this assessment.

Overall, the Strategic Objectives for the Rwanda Mission are gender-neutral or gender-blind. With few exceptions, results are not framed in a manner that targets men or women at the program level, or at the SO or IR levels. There is little call for the collection of results or data in a sex-disaggregated manner, and no understanding of how an analysis of these data can be used to improve results and outcomes. Although SO team members are familiar with the ADS 200 gender requirements, these requirements have not been operationalized in the planning and decision-making process. In other words, the critical questions necessary for mainstreaming gender are not being asked or answered. There are two exceptions represented in the work of Pierre St. Hilaire (DG) and Deborah Murray of IMPACT (Health/HIV/AIDS), who clearly addressed the issues of both the different roles of men and women, as well as of the relationship and balance between them and the institutional structures that support them. The partners who collect and utilize sex-disaggregated data do so because of a larger institutional mandate coming from their organizations, not because of guidance or pressure from the mission. A specific look at each Strategic Objective will demonstrate this more clearly.

B. DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE

Strategic Objective One: Increased rule of law and transparency in governance

The goal of this objective is to work towards an increased rule of law and transparency in governance. The purpose of the SO is to strengthen those institutions that form the foundation of a sound political and judicial system, and to assist Rwanda in its transition to a full democracy – in which ethnic tolerance, respect for human rights, and the rule of law are instituted. Activities towards this SO are strong. In 2001, a fourth IR on strengthening civil society was added, and the previous three were recast and reorganized to better show causality. However, the language

⁵ The WIDTECH assessment team report was due January 31, 2002, and it was made available to this team a few days before we completed our work. However, during the course of our work we were often referred to this report for information.

of the SO, the Intermediate Results and the Indicators remains silent on gender. The people-level indicators are not sex-disaggregated, even where possible.

The Intermediate Results are:

- IR 1.1 Justice rendered more effectively;
- IR 1.2 Increased security of persons and property;
- IR 1.3 Increased accountability at all levels of government, and
- IR 1.4 Civil society strengthened.

The sub-IRs include:

- 1.1.1 Strengthened capacity of the Ministry of Justice;
- 1.1.2 Enhanced legal human resource capacity;
- 1.1.3 Citizens engaged in *gacaca*⁶ process;
- 1.1.4 Genocide victims compensated;
- 1.1.5 Improved flow of information on justice issues;
- 1.2.1 Strengthened capacity of the national police;
- 1.3.1 Improved popular representation at all levels of government;
- 1.3.2 Fiscal and administrative structures decentralized;
- 1.3.3 Limited authorities devolved from central government;
- 1.3.4 Strengthened capacity of legislature to function as independent arm of government;
- 1.3.5 Mechanisms for citizen input on local resource decisions;
- 1.3.6 Reconciliation promoted through dialogue, research and technology applications that increase community confidence and participation in local government, and
- 1.4.1 Increased promotion and awareness of human rights (Civil Society Fund).

The mission has a strong verbal commitment to women, and works with a number of partners, including Haguruka and the International Rescue Committee (IRC) to improve the legal and political status of women. USAID is also working with the Government of Rwanda (GOR), which is committed to promoting women's advancement and gender equality. However, there is no evidence from discussions with the SO team or analyses of the R4s or the PMP that the analytical work necessary to mainstream gender has been performed; nor is there clear attention to gender in the planning, implementation and reporting of activities. Little evidence was provided that suggested answers to the key questions: (1) How will gender relations affect the achievement of sustainable results? and, (2) How will the proposed results affect the relative status of women?

USAID/Rwanda works closely with the Ministry of Gender and the Advancement of Women (MIGEPROFE). The establishment of this Ministry is a major step forward for women. The Ministry has a clear mandate to facilitate the elimination of gender imbalances in all sectors of development, through a process of gender mainstreaming and through the promotion of women's advancement by the adoption of deliberate actions in economic and socio-political empowerment. While the GOR has demonstrated a commitment to gender mainstreaming, there

⁶ *Gacaca* refers to the local courts, based on Kirwanda traditional justice, which are going to be used to try the genocide suspects. The *gacaca* process is discussed below.

is no clear mandate within this SO to consider gender as an analytic category, or to understand how gender analysis could strengthen and improve programs.

For example, to render justice more effectively in Rwanda, it was determined that more lawyers needed to be trained. There was a clear call to train equal numbers of Anglophone and Francophone law students. However, not until three pages later in the R4 did the discussion even mention any gender considerations. Even then the indicator reads: “Number of new lawyers (men and women) trained in the English language program at the National University of Rwanda Law School.” This is the type of after-the-fact add-on that passes for gender mainstreaming. There is no attempt to understand 1) why or if women or men should be trained as lawyers and in what specialties; 2) what support systems are necessary for success of the program and what impact it will have on rendering justice more effectively; or 3) how this might help move along the *gacaca* process. If these questions were asked, the answers were not presented.

In a memo to Washington (subject: USAID/Rwanda FY 2003 R-4 Submission: Critical Issues and Key Changes), it is noted that: “Fifty-three (of whom one-fifth are women) of the 120 graduates of USAID-funded legal training are employed at the Ministry of Justice (MOJ), and the others work with other ministries, human rights organizations, and the private sector” (Goldman, 2001:10). While the mission is meeting its goal to increase the capacity of the justice system, it is not considering the role of gender in this process. For example, there are no data provided on the gender breakdown of the 120 lawyers who were trained. A gender conscious strategy might discuss: 1) Are women lawyers necessary? 2) Why might this be so? 3) What social, political and economic benefits might be gained for the nation by training women lawyers? Furthermore, sex disaggregated data would be fully provided to enable gender analysis at all program levels.

The main work in the area of gender analysis with regards to the country’s legal code comes primarily from the work of Pierre St. Hilaire, the Resident Legal Advisor to Rwanda. He is not attached to an SO team. As a lawyer on loan from the U.S. State Department to the MOJ, his task is to help the MOJ bring the Rwandan legal code into compliance with international treaties to which Rwanda is a signatory. This is necessary before Rwanda begins the *gacaca* process.

The *gacaca* process is the use of traditional methods of Kirwanda justice (*gacaca* local courts) to expedite the trials of the genocide suspects, and is expected to help clear the bulk of the caseload of over a hundred thousand suspects accused of varying levels of genocide crimes. It is believed that the process of local justice implemented by community courts will help heal some of the hurt and anguish suffered by communities during the 1994 genocide. “Rwandans favor the *gacaca* system of law, which researchers found was due to an overwhelming desire to fairly resolve the genocide cases. More than half of those surveyed, 58 percent, said they were ‘highly confident’ that the *gacaca* jurisdictions will resolve the genocide trials problem. And 53 percent said they were ‘highly confident’ that the jurisdictions would help to promote sustainable peace in the country” (<http://www.jhuccp.org/news/052101.stm>).

The legal advisor, St. Hilaire, raised a number of gender issues for consideration and has mainstreamed gender in all his activities. However, he is not a member of an SO team. His work can only serve as an example of gender mainstreaming:

A serious issue is the negligible number of women in the Rwanda police force. This concern was raised since police would be involved in the arrest and prosecutions of those charged in *gacaca* trials. The rape of women is one genocide-era crime that still remains mostly hidden. St. Hilaire noted that women rape victims would be unwilling to discuss their cases with male police officers. This led to the police force reconsidering its recruitment procedures.

He also noted that much attention is being directed to women in order to have a greater impact on gender issues. While this will help to some extent, impact would be even stronger if some attention also was given to the sensitization of men. He asserted that if activities are designed based on gender, men will learn to respect women and not to re-victimize women who come forward during the *gacaca* process. This has been communicated to the Ministry of Gender in hopes that action will be taken.

St. Hilaire has spent countless hours reviewing the Rwandan penal code and has made numerous suggestions on how to remove gender-discriminatory language from Rwandan law. The introduction of the *gacaca* has led to questions of how to deal with gender-based violence. There has been a redirection of USAID assistance in support of a public awareness campaign on *gacaca*. However, much more is necessary to revamp the legal system in preparation for the upcoming trials and to administer justice in the future.

USAID/Rwanda provided assistance to help develop the previous military police authority and to train the police in internationally recognized standards of human rights, rule of law, anti-corruption and promotion of civilian police roles that support democracy. In 2000, the GOR created a new national civilian police force. This fledgling organization requires substantial assistance for training in police procedures and observance of human rights, as well as some discretionary logistical and commodity support (Lalonde and Morel-Seytoux 2002: 33). As previously noted, St. Hilaire was instrumental in pointing out the limited number of women on the police force. When the National Police Force was created, there were only 37 women out of 3,000 officers (St. Hilaire 2001). As a result of his actions, more women are now members of the police force and there are ongoing discussions of how to increase their numbers further. One hundred-sixty new female officers have been recruited and many more have applied. The majority of the applicants have been rejected, however, because they did not meet the educational requirements (*ibid.*). There are now 4,000 police officers in Rwanda and 200 of them are women. The net effect is that women have gone from making up 1.2% of the police force to 5%.

In 1999, the GOR institutionalized, through law and nationwide local elections, local decision-making structures initiated under USAID's Local Governance Initiatives (LGI) project. This has produced 160,000 newly elected local government officials who received training in the leadership and resource mobilization skills needed to serve the citizens who elected them – an effort supported by USAID/Rwanda. Following the success of the local elections, the GOR made an additional step forward to deepen democracy and improve accountability through the successful completion of secret ballot district elections held in early March 2001. Twenty-six percent of women candidates were elected at the cellule and district levels. The legal provision made for ensuring the participation of women in local elected bodies was set at one third of all members of district councils and of municipal and town councils.

It should be noted, however, that while women are benefiting significantly from USAID/Rwanda's support, gender mainstreaming has not been included as part of the planning process within the portfolio or activities under this SO. When gender analysis is not utilized as a planning tool, then results are not framed to promote the goal of gender equality. In sum, although there are positive results ensuing from this Strategic Objective, the SO itself is gender-blind in its language. Rather, the success under this SO has to do with the individuals working in this area, especially St. Hilaire.

C. HEALTH/HIV/AIDS

Strategic Objective Two: Increased use of sustainable health services in target areas

The purpose of this SO is to increase the utilization of quality health care and basic social services in targeted geographic areas of Rwanda. The expected result is the development of sustainable health services in target areas. The indicator is the percentage of target group reporting condom use in most recent sex act with non-regular partner. There is some evidence, from discussions with the SO team and analysis of the R4s and the PMP, that the analytical work necessary to mainstream gender has been performed (in contrast to the DG situation discussed above). IMPACT is the implementing partner on this project. They are tracking and reporting sex-disaggregated data. While the indicator is gender neutral, the partner understands that “you have to understand who your audience is if you want to affect behavioral change” (Murray 2002). The program is aimed at youth, with target goals set for both males and females. A second indicator is the percentage of target population enrolled in pre-payment schemes. There is no evidence of gender mainstreaming for this indicator, however. Enrollees in the program are not disaggregated by sex and no consideration of who pays for or makes healthcare decisions is evident.

The Intermediate Results and their indicators for this SO are mostly gender-neutral as explained below:

- IR 2.1 Increased availability of decentralized, quality primary health care and STI/HIV services in target areas.

Indicator: Percentage of health centers meeting functional requirements (as defined by established criteria) in STI delivery in target area.

There is no evidence of gender mainstreaming for IR 2.1.

- IR 2.2 Improved knowledge and perceptions related to reproductive health, emphasizing STI/HIV, in target areas.

Indicator: Percent of target group citing at least two effective means of protecting themselves from HIV infection.

Gender mainstreaming is evident for IR 2.2. Data from the 2000 Demographic and Health Survey are being used to identify, in a sex-disaggregated fashion, a number of factors: level of knowledge of HIV/AIDS; means of transmission; means of prevention; condom use; rates of sexual activity, and care and treatment choices. With these data, programs are being designed

and implemented that take into account a situational analysis of both women and men, thus setting clear target goals, as well as providing an understanding of how to meet the goals efficiently.

- IR 2.3 Enhanced sustainability of PHC services through improved financial accountability and improved health care financing.

Indicator: Cost recovery ratio among members and non-members in pre-payment plan.

The ISP states that the Ministry of Health received only 4.2% of the national budget in 1999 and that donor aid pays 50% of health sector costs in Rwanda, while 9% comes from the GOR. Thirty-three percent of health care costs are borne by households, placing a large burden on limited domestic resources. Pilot pre-payment insurance schemes have been introduced, in partnership with USAID/Rwanda: Kabgayi in Gitarama (22,000 families), Byumba (49,000 families), and Kabutare in Butare (18,000 families). The Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper notes that:

An annual fee of RWF 2500 (about U.S. \$5.00) for a family of not more than 7 persons is paid for healthcare provided at the health centers. The fee was suggested by the communities through focus group discussions on affordability of services. The scheme is managed by local authorities and management committees of the health centers. The funds enable the health centers to purchase drugs from CAMERWA. Take-up rates of about 10% have been achieved in the first year; those households that have bought the insurance have greatly increased their use of the health system.

There is no evidence of gender mainstreaming for IR 2.3. Since the indicator is “cost recovery,” understanding how healthcare decisions are made at the household level, who determines if and when healthcare interventions are sought and who pays for them are critical questions to ask when attempting to improve service. Clearly, a gender analysis would be useful here.

- IR 2.4 Increased Government of Rwanda capacity to provide basic social sector support.

Indicator: Presence of improved GOR policy guidelines or social sector practices which protect the rights of children.

Indicator: Number of people trained in country in GOR public health training programs.

There is no evidence of gender mainstreaming for IR 2.4, nor of an attempt to track data in a sex-disaggregated manner for this indicator. An analysis of the type of personnel needed and whether men or women are best suited for particular jobs and more or less likely to be successful is clearly needed. A quota system for women might be appropriate given the cultural and structural barriers faced by women.

In addition, mainstreaming gender analysis in the area of health is critical to understanding, preventing and stopping the spread of disease and controlling maternal/child mortality. The

population growth rate in Rwanda is staggeringly high – approximately 3.6 percent – and 49 percent of the population is below 15 years of age. Life expectancy is 49 years, with an infant mortality rate of 131 per 1,000 births, and an extremely high maternal mortality rate of 810 per 100,000.

A significant issue addressed under this SO is the high rate of population growth. USAID will explore with the MOH appropriate interventions in family planning/child spacing within the context of post-genocide pro-natalist social pressures (Lalonde and Morel-Seytoux: 2002: 33). The program will work toward the development of culturally acceptable services and communications to help control the high rate of maternal and child mortality. Given that Rwanda is one of the most densely populated countries in East Africa, increased use of contraception will be vital to maintaining and sustaining any development advancements in the country. However, a gender analysis is critical to the success of this objective.

The primary framework used to plan healthcare initiatives in Rwanda remains maternal and child health. In general, many of the services in the healthcare sector are focused on women and positively impact their lives but the objectives of the program are not designed through a gender analysis of health issues. The bright spot is the gender sensitivity and commitment of USAID's IMPACT partner.

D. ECONOMIC GROWTH/FOOD SECURITY

Strategic Objective Three: Increased ability of rural families in target communities to improve household food security

The purpose of this SO is to expand agricultural production and marketing chains through improved agribusiness opportunities, increased access to financial services, enhanced technology transfer, production and conservation practices, and fostering an enabling policy environment. Ninety percent of the population in Rwanda lives in rural areas. In order to meet this strategic objective, the following results framework was developed, with a focus on one major Intermediate Result:

IR: Expanded Production/Marketing Chains.

There are three lower level sub-IRs which include:

- IR 3.1.1 Increased ability of farmers to respond to and benefit from market demand.
- IR 3.1.2 Expanded agribusiness opportunities.
- IR 3.1.3 Increased access to financial services.

The primary partners working on this SO that this gender assessment team visited were IRC, Women in Transition Initiative (WIT) and Care International. Specific findings of the partners will be discussed below. Here it should be noted that at the overarching policy level, the gender assessment team finds that the SO3 team lacks the capacity to incorporate gender analysis into its strategic objective and requires both more detailed guidance from the ADS 200 guidelines and significant gender assessment training. In regards to the work of this SO team, most promising is the strong cross-linkages formed between Democracy and Governance and Economic Growth. As will be evident from our later discussion of specific partners, there is a nice synergy between

increased economic opportunity and increased democratic participation of women in local politics. Critical in this synergy are special funds available from USAID/Washington that enhance the ability of the Rwanda mission to provide support for gender-linked activities.

Two mission actions that would promote greater gender responsiveness are: 1) incorporating a gender-focused analysis into the SO, and 2) providing leadership and guidance to partners. Currently there is a strong reliance on partners determining their own objectives, indicators and results. A USAID leadership role in mainstreaming gender is critical to combat the poverty faced by the most economically vulnerable of all Rwandan households. In addition, cultural laws and practices that deem women subordinate to men and make it less likely that they are landowners operate to disadvantage them. While these laws are changing – thanks to the hard work of Pierre St Hilaire and the Ministry of Gender – there is still a long way to go to bring about an ideological change. This change is critical, however, as the day-to-day reality of women already has been changed. Women are de facto heads of households; they are doing the labor and already are working in non-traditional occupations.

To reiterate, the objectives, indicators and results found in SO3 paper trail documents are not gender-sensitive. People-level indicators are not sex-disaggregated. For example, a number of sub-IRs discuss farmers. However, there is no evidence that USAID or its partners are examining the differences involved in farming for men and women. There are examples of several women's farmer associations, but there is no mention of the amounts or types of agricultural extension services that reach them in comparison to men. Without such knowledge and analysis, little progress will be made in improving the status of women farmers and thus increasing the available food supply. Again, gender needs to be put at the forefront to better understand and improve the lives of Rwanda citizens.

Furthermore, the ISP recognizes that the Rwandan economy is evolving on two tracks. One is an urban-based, market-oriented and fully monetized system of production. The other is a rural-based, subsistence-oriented economy that is dependent on barter and trade and lacks access to cash and credit. Given that men tend to dominate urban economies, while women are predominantly members of rural economies, a gender mainstreaming agenda is critical in approaching this problem through SO3. After all, given women's predominance as farmers and as food producers for their families, they are the key actors in enhancing household food security in the targeted communities.

All in all, the paper trail in Rwanda reporting documents revealed more gender neutrality/gender blindness than gender disaggregation or gender analysis. That the main exceptions involved two individuals further points up the low institutionalization of gender at the mission and SO levels and the importance of committed and knowledgeable individuals to fill the gap.

3.5 TANZANIA

A. MISSION STRATEGY AND ITS GENDER RESPONSIVENESS

USAID/Tanzania's strategic plan for 1997-2003 gives explicit recognition to gender in both the Executive Summary and quite early in the text. Specifically, gender is named as the third of

three cross-cutting themes that must be addressed in order for the country to move forward in a sustainable manner:

GENDER: There are clear gender inequities in Tanzania, with women being disadvantaged. Over 80 percent of women are employed in agriculture, primarily in producing food for household consumption. While the GOT has made public commitments to gender equity and to the elevation of the status of women, laws of inheritance are governed by customary, Islamic and statutory laws. Under customary law, women generally do not have inheritance rights to their husband's assets and legal illiteracy exacerbates the problem. Although the sex ratio of lower level secondary education is fairly even, only about 25 percent of upper secondary students are female. It should be noted that at most only seven percent of all children enroll in secondary school. In comparing male and female heads of household, males hold 50 percent more land, 150 percent more livestock and have almost twice as many years of schooling. There is a clear need to work for equity, empowerment and justice for Tanzanian women (Strategic Plan, p. 11).

The next paragraph of the Mission's strategic plan then links each of the SOs to gender in an explanation of how both men and women will be affected by the mission's planned activities. This is a promising start that reveals a good deal of both gender sensitivity and concrete knowledge. So then what happens in the more detailed specification of indicators for each SO?

B. HEALTH AND HIV/AIDS

Strategic Objective 1: Increased use of family planning/maternal and child health (FP/MCH) and HIV/AIDS preventive measures

Health is considered to be the most extensive and the most mature of the mission's foci. The discussion of SO1 in USAID/Tanzania's Strategic Plan involves some fascinating contradictions. On the one hand, the knowledge of the writers of this section shines through — their discussion of the issues is sophisticated and in-depth. On the other hand, that discussion appears to be mostly gender blind, with the exception of a mention (on p. 38) of two gender-disaggregated results from the Tanzania Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices Survey (TKAPS).

Yet, although gender is not discussed in the analysis of the problem, gender disaggregation is built into various indicators at both the SO and IR levels. This appears to be unusual. In most missions visited by the team, mention of and/or disaggregation by gender occurred at neither the SO nor the IR levels, but rather at the level of sub-IR indicators.

Specifically, the last two indicators for the SO itself (increased use of FP/MCH and HIV/AIDS preventive measures) are:

- 1.5 % of **women** using condom in most recent sexual intercourse with non-regular partner (1994), and
- 1.6 % of **men** using condom in most recent sexual intercourse with non-regular partner (1994).

Similarly, for the first IR (IR 1.1: Increased knowledge of and access to FP/MCH services), there is another pair of measures disaggregated by sex:

- 1.1.1 % of **women** 15-49 who know at least 3 modern FP methods (1994)
- 1.1.2 % of **men** 15-49 who know at least 3 modern FP methods (1994).

Measures for the second IR (IR 1.2: Increased knowledge of and access to HIV/AIDS information and services) ALL involve disaggregation: percentage of males vs. females who know that faithful partners and condoms can prevent HIV/AIDS transmission, and the percentage who know of a source for condoms.

Some of the credit for the level of gender disaggregation found in the Strategic Plan must be shared with the entire field of health/HIV/AIDS. Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices Surveys (KAPS) have been around since the 1970s, and they have become gotten better, more standardized and more gender-responsive over the years (although KAPS apparently were reworked and renamed National Reproductive and Child Health Surveys (NRCHS), according to the R4 – 2001 written in April 1999). Programs in the general area of health/family planning/maternal-child health/HIV/AIDS may profitably make use of the standardized indicators that have evolved over time. Most of these are routinely collected in the two main surveys characterizing the field – the KAPS/NRCHS and the DHS (Demographic and Health Surveys). That said, the SO team should be commended for formulating their SO and their IRs in such a way that these standardized gender-disaggregated indicators could be utilized to measure results.

Unfortunately, subsequent to the completion of Tanzania's Strategic Plan in 1996 there was a "partial de-institutionalization of gender," as measured by a partial "squeezing out" of gender issues. The squeezing out process (decreasing attention to gender disaggregation) in the health/HIV/AIDS sector is clearly revealed in an analysis of the mission R4 documents for FY 1999 - 2003 (written between March 1997 and April 2001).

1999 *The R4 - 1999 was the first following the formulation of the Strategic Plan. Gender disaggregation started to disappear as indicators started to change. The first to be removed were IR 1.2.3 and IR 1.2.4 which measured the percentage of women and men, respectively, who know using condoms is a way to avoid AIDS, and IR 1.2.5 and 1.2.6, measuring the percentage of women and men (respectively) who know a source for condoms. No explanation is given for their removal.*

2000 *The R4 – 2000 was the first written by a new mission director and it, atypically, has two paragraphs on gender in the introductory Overview section. There was one IR removed from this R4: the table for the percentage of women who know using a condom is a way to avoid AIDS. The table for men knowing about condoms remained (Table 1.8, p. 16)..*

2001 *The R4 – 2001 introduced a major change in the IRs: By now **all** the gender-disaggregated IR indicators had disappeared. The disappearance may merely reflect the fact that the gender-disaggregated IR indicators were just not being regularly reported, given the Agency-mandated tight space limits that constrain the content of R4s.*

2002 *The R4 – 2002 restored SO indicators about percentage of men and women who reported using a condom during the last sex act with a non-regular partner. The SO measure, "Contraceptive Prevalence Rate for modern methods, all women," also reappeared.*

2003 Finally, the **R4 – 2003** presents a mostly new set of indicators. None are disaggregated by gender. In one case, “new HIV voluntary counseling and testing clients at selected facilities,” this lack of disaggregation could result in not recognizing a potentially important aspect of HIV/AIDS sero-prevalence, namely that HIV is more easily transmitted to women than to men via sexual intercourse. As discussed below, a USAID partner learned through its new M&E system that fewer women came in for testing than men but that a higher percentage of the women tested proved to be HIV positive: i.e., by going beyond the mission and disaggregating by sex, the partner found a key difference.

C. DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE

Strategic Objective 3: Strong foundation for the transition to democratic government established

Overall, the “paper trail” for democracy and governance (DG) tells a story that begins with a commitment in the Strategic Plan to disaggregate all people-level indicators wherever possible. Then, in the course of five successive R4s, the following trajectory is observed. The first two R4s following the development of the Strategic Plan there showed partial to substantial compliance with the commitment to disaggregate people-level indicators by gender. In the second year’s R4, there also were unexpected positive results reported involving women’s NGOs and the promotion of women’s legal rights in Tanzania. The third of the five R4s was the high point as far as gender issues are concerned, with discussions of two strong successes in the area of women’s legal rights. But at the same time, gender disaggregation of people indicators was disappearing from the tables. By the fourth and fifth R4s, gender disappeared completely, both in the text and in the tables. There seemed to be a gradual “squeezing out” of gender that, if anything, was even more marked than in the “paper trail” analysis of the health SO.

First, in the Strategic Plan, there is only one substantive mention of gender: “a target of outreach assistance will be NGOs dealing with women’s legal rights in Tanzania.” There is also only one mention of gender in the SO 3 discussion but it is highly significant: **“To the extent possible, data will be gender disaggregated.”** In addition, the indicators chosen for the SO itself and two of the five IRs are clearly people-level indicators. So what happened in the five succeeding R4s?

1999 The **R4 – 1999** seems to honor the commitment to “gender disaggregation wherever possible” – but only in the text, not in the tables (even though two of the three, both at SO level, involve a people-level indicator). From the start the tables accompanying the SO discussion fail to include breakdowns by gender.

2000 Turning to the **R4 – 2000**, some compliance with the commitment to disaggregate by gender, wherever possible, still can be seen. There also is a new development: a substantive discussion involving gender as a variable.

The discussion of IR 3.3 notes that efforts to achieve this IR “have emphasized strengthening the outreach capacity of selected NGOs by focusing on women’s legal rights as a way to expand people’s understanding and application of DG principles.” The narrative notes that support was provided to five women’s legal rights organizations, and in consultation with women leaders, four pressing issues were identified and made the subject of sensitization campaigns: domestic violence; female genital mutilation

(FGM); inheritance laws (including land ownership), and the plight of widows and children with regard to AIDS. A text box states:

A direct result of these campaigns is that a by-law to abolish FGM has been drafted in Mara Region where the tradition had been practiced for generations. Furthermore, the Tanzanian chapter of Amnesty International has picked this topic as one to lobby national government to take a stand against.

The IR 3.3 discussion also cites an “unanticipated outcome from our workshops which focused attention on female inheritance issues.” The Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP, one of the five women’s legal rights organizations) formed a coalition of women’s NGOs to lobby men and women citizens and MPs. They argued that a new Land Bill about to go before Parliament would discriminate against women – and won a delay in bringing up the bill so that women’s concerns could be considered.

2001 *The R4 –2001 may represent the high water mark for discussion of gender issues in the text. First, the only SO3 result singled out for the brief “Significant Program Achievements” section at the start of the R4 concerns gender: “Democratic Governance (SO3): One of the most notable achievements was USAID’s support to NGOs addressing sexual and domestic violence culminating in the passage of the ‘Sexual Offenses’ bill, which provides severe punishment for offenders.” The subsequent discussion of the new IR 3.1.2 (Consultative mechanisms promote public dialogue on selected issues) tells a more detailed story of USAID-supported achievement:*

The Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA) identified violence against women as a governance issue which led to USAID support for a variety of TAMWA interventions with the GOT. For example, TAMWA held workshops to sensitize the public, specifically the police, on the issue of sexual and domestic violence against women. Police officers from twenty regions made commitments to change the treatment of women who have suffered sexual crimes. Procedural changes have already been made in twelve regions. Effectively using their media connections, TAMWA generated publicity about these workshops causing considerable public debate about issues of sexual violence and generated support for a Sexual Offenses Bill. With USAID and other donors’ support, TAMWA lobbied Members of Parliament and the bill was passed in record time (in less than six months) in June 1998.

The text then reports a mixed success for the TAMWA-TGNP-women’s NGOs campaign to include women’s concerns in the Land Bill, which had passed recently. The law did give women the right to own land for the first time, but customary laws (which often deny women such rights) remained in the bill, drawing the lines for future legal battles. Also mentioned is an evaluation of women’s legal rights activities that found them effective and suggested that they be targeted for institutional strengthening, the new SO emphasis.

However, the tables contrast starkly with the extended discussion of gender in the text. Only one people-level table remained (concerning journalists trained) and it was not disaggregated by sex.

2002 *In the R4 – 2002, the only mention of gender is as one of three crosscutting issues in the SO. The information about journalists trained is not disaggregated by gender in either the text or the subsequent table. Gender has almost totally disappeared from the R4.*

2003 *Finally, in the R4 – 2003, gender has disappeared as a consideration in both the SO and the IRs, which have once again been redesigned. None of the tables are disaggregated by gender; in fact, none contain people-level indicators.*

D. ECONOMIC GROWTH

Strategic Object 4: Increased private sector participation in the economy

Overall, SO4 exhibits the most meaningful incorporation of gender in its documents and activities. It is the only one of the three sectors where gender was as visible in USAID's R4s five years after the Strategic Plan as it was in earlier years.

The big question is why? The answer might reside in the individuals involved in the three sectors, but it is more probable that the private sector SO had a more compelling reason to make sure that gender was addressed: the well-established fact that female entrepreneurs tend to do at least as well as men in microfinance activities, such as those promoted by the SO. This provides a built-in incentive to make sure that women are not being inadvertently overlooked: if that were to happen, the level of success of the project might be diminished.

This brings up the question of the chicken and the egg: SO4 pays the most attention to gender and to gender-disaggregated data because other projects' disaggregation by gender already have revealed the payoff to micro and small enterprise projects that don't undercut female participation. How can a track record such as this be established in the other sectors if there are no gender-disaggregated data to begin with? This is a question that should be considered in the "forward looking workshop" that is intended as the final act in this gender impact assessment.

Turning to the R4s, the question is how has the inclusion of gender evolved over time?

1999 *In the R4 – 1999, IR 4.1 promotes making "Financial markets more diverse and competitive." The team did not expect to find the following surprising example of gender disaggregation/analysis in the R4 – 1999: "In order to staff a new central bank supervision department which started with no employees, USAID funded over 200 bank officials for training in the United States...Although only 37% of trainees were women, 65% of the women trained now occupy higher positions and 87% reported significant impact on their ability to perform their duties" (pp. 24-25).*

The proportion of women buying products and services from TBC also was broken down in the table about types of services/products purchased (p. 26). Then gender was explicitly disaggregated in the p. 29 table for the SO-level indicator (as is rural vs. urban location). The planned vs. actual new hires in micro and small enterprises were divided

into men and women for each year in the table. The same disaggregation format – by gender and location – was followed in the p. 31 table for IR 4.3.1 (concerning person days of micro and small entrepreneurs trained in fee-based business skills).

This represented an auspicious beginning for making sure that gender was not ignored in an area where it has been found to be highly correlated with the level of success of microenterprise/small business credit and other assistance projects.

2000 *In R4 – 2000, the tables continued to scrupulously disaggregate by gender (and rural-urban location) in every possible instance. This was the most thorough integration of gender-disaggregated measurement encountered in the analysis of Tanzania R4s. It should be noted that this is the R4 that included two paragraphs about the mission's commitment to gender mainstreaming in the two-page "Overview."*

2001 *The R4 – 2001 performance with respect to gender exceeds even that of the preceding year as well as that year's DG performance (characterized above as the "high water mark" for the incorporation of gender concerns in SO3). It does so by detailed discussions of accomplishments in the text and meticulous attention to gender-disaggregation in all tables with people-level indicators.*

For example, the discussion of IR 4.1 includes a vignette about a female-owned firm that benefited from the Risk Management and Profit Sharing (RMPS) Fund:

FAME Consolidated Services, a female-owned firm that borrowed about \$10,000 to purchase equipment for its janitorial company, is typical. FAME had been primarily a government contractor, but government cut-backs had decreased these contracts by more than 50%. FAME needed to update its cleaning methods and equipment to meet higher international standards required to break into a new market – private banks. As a result of securing eight such contracts, FAME added 10 employees [gender not specified] and increased its income. FAME, as well as all other RMPS clients, has made prompt payments on its loan.

Concerning employment generation, the R4 states: "Of significance, and of great pride to the mission, is the large number of women and rural people who were reached. Targets in both employment categories were exceeded by about 50%" Similarly, the R4 discusses how results vis-à-vis gender exceeded expectations in micro/small enterprise management efforts: "Even more impressive is the 54% participation by women as against the expected 37%. This was accomplished by contracting more women training mobilizers, lowering the cost of courses, and by targeting a female-dominated rural enterprise sector–seaweed farming." Otherwise, targets for rural participation fell short.

Even more telling is the unflinching gender disaggregation in the tables. It is worth quoting a statement from the "comments" section of the table measuring levels of investment increase for the IR "Provision of sustainable financing in micro and small enterprise":

1997 is the baseline year for gender disaggregation. Female participation is the percentage of female ownership in all enterprises. A 45% increase in

women's participation was planned for 1998...One method used to reach these goals was to target successful clients of micro-finance institutions – a large percentage of which are women. As a result, we exceeded last year's female participation rate by over 100%. We expect to continue to have about one third female participation in 1999, but increase this figure to 50% by year 2000 as women who "graduate" from micro credit programs will increasingly access RMPS and SATF funds (p. 26).

This comment makes clear not only the high level of concern about reaching out to microentrepreneurs of both genders, but also the reason why more women are wanted: they turn out to be, on average, some of the best clients.

2002 *The R4 – 2002 again highlights a gender achievement as the "significant program achievement" for SO4 – the second year in a row. Gender successes again are prominently mentioned as key results for each IR where gender disaggregation is relevant. Additionally, the tables maintain their 100% level of gender (and location) disaggregation for all people-level indicators. By this time the tables have sufficient time depth for readers to assess how the SO and its IRs are progressing.*

2003 *Finally, the R4 – 2003 again highlights gender in the initial summary of "Significant Program Achievements." The subsequent tables continue to disaggregate all people indicators, although they have a new format in this R4: separate tables for total, female and rural data. This is a little less user-friendly, but again shows the SO team's continued attention to providing appropriately disaggregated data that enable the project to adapt its activities in response to empirical outcomes.*

E. A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE DRAFT PMP FOR SO1

At the time of the team visit, the mission Performance Monitoring Plan was not yet available. The team was, however, given a draft PMP pertaining to SO1 (Health). It proved very enlightening and encouraging. As already has been seen, the team encountered a "squeezing out of gender" in the analysis of the paper trail for both Health and DG. In contrast, the draft PMP for SO1 starts out with extensive plans for including gender. The main point to be stressed concerning this draft PMP is that almost all of the people-level indicators are slated to be disaggregated by gender. There are a great many indicators laid out for this PMP, but in almost all instances, if people are involved, they are supposed to be reported on in male and female categories. In short, the PMP drafters demonstrated a level of gender sensitivity far beyond that shown in recent R4s. Hopefully, this represents a new shuffle of the deck for gender concerns.

* * *

Overall, the Tanzania paper trail shows a squeezing out process for gender in Health and DG, coupled with a continuous focus on the issue in EG, including indicators disaggregated by gender. But the level of attention to gender rarely rose above mere disaggregation of data by sex – true gender analysis and gender mainstreaming are virtually absent.

Writ large, this is the lesson of the entire paper trail section. Attention to gender is limited and most of the successes involve relatively modest accomplishments: e.g., disaggregation of clients, by gender, rather than more sophisticated gender analysis and gender mainstreaming.

Concluding this section, then, the data provide empirical support for the “partial de-institutionalization” and “squeezing out” of gender as one of two dominant themes. The second theme is that most attention to gender found in the paper trail involves mere sex breakdowns, not deep or cogent analysis of the differing activities, resources and constraints of men and women that can affect the success of programs and the (differential) well-being of the men, women and children affected.

4.0 BEYOND USAID’S PAPER TRAIL: FIELDWORK FINDINGS

4.1 OVERVIEW

Since the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, the main buzzwords about gender and development have been “gender mainstreaming.” This is true of not only USAID since about 1995 but for all the other major donors as well. But gender mainstreaming is impossible without two prerequisites: 1) sex-disaggregated data; and 2) gender analysis.

In other words, the first requirement is that all people-level data be broken down by male and female (in fact, this has been a USAID requirement for more than a decade, even though it is often not done). The second is that a gender analysis is carried out. A gender analysis looks at the extant situation, opportunities and constraints for both genders in order to assess how a given activity, policy, etc. will differentially affect particular groups of males and females. It also may be used to ascertain that programs will be appropriately and equitably targeted with respect to gender. And it really is about gender, NOT just women.⁷

Presented below are the most illustrative examples of fieldwork findings for each mission. For full descriptions of all fieldwork findings, please see the separate reports produced for each mission.

4.2 REDSO: FIELDWORK WITH PARTNERS, SUB-PARTNERS AND CLIENTS

The field interviews revealed a wide range in knowledge about gender among REDSO, partner and sub-partner staff. The results below also make clear that most of the people interviewed knew that it was important to take gender into account and really wanted to do so – but that few of them knew just how to go about it. Indeed, team members repeatedly were asked where the partner organizations could obtain training in both gender disaggregation and gender analysis.

- At the lowest level of knowledge, the team learned that people wrongly took gender to mean women. This was most common with health-related partners, who felt that since their clientele was mostly female, of course they were taking gender into account.
- At the highest level of knowledge, section 4.2 below describes an “accidental,” or bonus, gender analysis. What happened is that a technician, who recently had received gender training, on her own initiative had added a gender analysis to a Kenyan research project on high-Vitamin A sweet potatoes. (The study’s Scope of Work had ignored gender.)

⁷ See Appendix G for a fieldwork example that makes it clear that gender also means men.

A. ECONOMIC GROWTH/FOOD SECURITY

Given REDSO's recognition of the importance of women in food security and, more generally, the control of income by gender in any economic growth initiative, the team initially hoped to find that partners were routinely disaggregating data by gender and, ideally, carrying out gender analyses, with some encouragement from REDSO staff. The empirical reality proved less rosy than this, but in general was not weak.

i. ASARECA and Its Partners: Two Contrasting Gender Stories

ASARECA is one of REDSO's regional implementation partners. It groups together, in a single network, both the international agricultural research centers (members of CGIAR, the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research) and the national agricultural research entities that operate in the region. REDSO is attempting to promote ASARECA's organizational strengthening. In point of fact, however, REDSO has no official power to compel any of ASARECA's network affiliates to increase resources and attention devoted to gender. Nor does ASARECA have this power. But quite recently, IDRC awarded a grant of \$490,000 (Canadian) for gender analyses. ASARECA has decided that the money will be allocated among its partners via a competitive process whereby those wanting funds will have to submit a proposal. With this grant, ASARECA finally has funds to help affiliates that want to pay attention to gender. Its grants will help integrate gender into agricultural research, by means including gender disaggregation of data, gender analyses, etc. This is a significant step forward.

Getting some of this funding could make a difference, as the following two contrasting stories indicate. The first discusses what is arguably the biggest success encountered in the REDSO Economic Growth/Food Security sector – the remarkable tale of a woman cassava scientist who believed in participatory development and the mostly women villagers who helped her create an exceptionally promising new variety of mosaic-resistant cassava named for their village. The second story details how one woman researcher added a gender analysis to a study whose Scope of Work didn't call for one. That bonus gender analysis revealed potentially fatal flaws in the Kenya program of a five-country sweetpotato effort aimed at producing a new high-beta carotene/Vitamin A variety, as well as the appropriate technology to transform it into flour.

a) How IITA's Vvomba mosaic-resistant cassava variety was developed – a gender success story with a twist

The mosaic virus spread to East Africa in the late 1980s, lowering yields and food security in its wake. Since then, IITA (the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture) has been trying to develop mosaic-resistant varieties that would be acceptable to the hard-hit cassava growers.

But few of their scientists have actively worked with the clients in a truly participatory manner. As a result, many of their varieties have remained "on the shelf," even though they are mosaic-resistant. Here is a dramatic exception, with a strong gender angle (it should be noted that this initiative began before the present Strategic Plan was adopted).

Dr. Goreti Ssemakula is a cassava breeder working in the Namulonge Agricultural and Animal Production Research Institute in Uganda. Her Director of Research also happens to be a woman--and she was very open to Dr. Ssemakula's methodology of going to the clients to jointly develop a cassava variety that people would want to plant, because it would not only be mosaic-resistant, but also would embody all the traits they most valued in cassava.

In 1998, Dr. Ssemakula began working with the leaders of a new cassava group founded in 1997 by five women and one man in the nearby village of Vvomba. The villagers were eager to work with her, since mosaic had killed the cassava and brought famine. She found out that the two traits that they valued most highly in cassava (over and above mosaic resistance, of course) were (1) taste and (2) ease/speed of cooking. Other, more technical considerations, such as the amount of dry matter content, the preferred distance between nodes, and the preferred branching or canopy traits of the plant, also were named by group members. But these were secondary to the "appetizing and easy" criteria: Taste (sweet, not bitter), color (white), texture (not hard; easy to peel) and cooking (fast).

Working with the initially mostly female group, Dr. Ssemakula came up with variations that the group members planted, tended and "massaged." Soon a new variety began to emerge, with characteristics almost too good to be true: Its taste and cooking characteristics were as good as the old, lamented variety that was succumbing to mosaic. And this new variety was so mosaic-resistant that it was not infected even when the villagers planted it in the same plots as sick, already virus-ridden cassava. As a further bonus, the variety was not "woody," had abundant nodes at the preferred distance apart and canopy size that was "just right" for intercropping – not too bushy, not too scrawny – as well as the medium length and straight shaped tubers that the villagers found most convenient for stacking and marketing. On top of everything, this variety proved easy to slice and fry, made lovely white flour, and had a taste highly appealing to children.

Miraculously, the new variety also proved to have much higher yields (as much as 400 percent higher) than the villagers' traditional variety. They – and IITA – proudly named it "Vvomba" after their village.

Their organization's membership swelled to 300, with the percent of men rising steadily from 17 to 43% as

the new cassava's moneymaking potential became known. So far, however, women still run the group: 9 of the 12 zonal leaders are female and most central offices, including the presidency, remain in female hands.

The group members give away planting materials to neighbors, friends and relatives but they sell them to everyone else. This has produced an impressive new income source for the group members, over and above the sale of the tubers.

In fact, many group members and their families are building new houses with the extra proceeds of the new variety (i.e., they are using the returns not only from the much higher yields of tubers but also from selling planting materials, a totally new source of income).

There is only one fly in the ointment, as far as the women members are concerned. While they are appreciative of the enhanced household standard of living and the new houses, they noted that it is their husbands who sell the cassava and keep the money. The women sell a little fried cassava and their husbands don't begrudge them this small amount of income, given the men's high return from the cassava tubers and planting materials.

But what the women want is to capture more of that income for themselves. Given all their labor in farming the cassava, they want to be able to pay for their children's school expenses and not be dependent on their husbands economically. They felt that with more income, they would have more ability to promote their children's welfare directly, as well as influence their husbands' decisions on such matters.

However, the kinship and land inheritance systems in the area are patri-oriented, and it is men who market the crops and control the resulting income. So the women in the focus group suggested the possibility of obtaining a processing machine that would be owned by the women as a group. The machine would enable them to produce cassava flour, i.e., a value-added product. The group would have a master bank account, giving the women assured control of any resulting income. Since the men were profiting from the sale of the tubers and planting materials, the focus group women didn't think that the husbands would object to their wives turning some of the cassava into flour and into their own profits.

In sum, the success of this participatory model that resulted in such a “gold star” new variety of cassava is obvious. First, this success contrasts with the fate of too many varieties developed by scientists who never interact with the farmers they are supposed to be helping. Second, the participatory process led to an emphasis on two characteristics that were probably very unlikely to be thought of by the typical (male) agricultural researcher: Taste and ease/speed of cooking (that also saves on firewood – which is generally gathered by women and children). Third, the new variety proved to be a resounding success with respect to mosaic resistance, yields, and saleable planting materials. Fourth, it provided so much extra income that group members’ families were constructing houses as well as helping to ensure their children’s school attendance.

But the women’s complaints indicate that the project is not as wholly successful as it could be. The processing machinery would greatly enhance the villagers’ return on the new variety – they and not distant urban entrepreneurs would capture the value added. Women wanted that extra processing income in order to be better able to promote their primary priority: their children’s education and general welfare. The research and theory discussed in Appendix F, however, indicates that the women would also gain more clout for themselves over other issues just as important for their country’s development, including (a) the adoption of safe sex practices that reduce HIV/AIDS seroprevalence and (b) control of fertility. With respect to (b), the data in Table 3, above, show that Uganda, where Vvomba is located, has the highest total fertility rate (7.1 children per woman) of the four countries visited. Such high fertility drains much of the benefits of increased economic growth. As it happens, though, where women, through enhanced economic power, gain greater say in their own fertility, they overwhelmingly use their new leverage to reduce it. So taking the Vvomba project the extra step to assure equitable benefits for women farmers as well as their husbands could multiply its development effectiveness.

Instead, what is happening is that more and more men are joining the group and, except in female-headed households, it is men who sell the tubers and planting materials – and control the proceeds.⁸ So except for a little income from frying and selling small amounts of cassava, women’s benefits remained indirect, despite their heavy and direct labor contributions.

Little wonder that they wanted their own piece of the action. They even suggested a way that would be culturally acceptable and yet assure them some income under own control: obtaining a processing machine to produce flour. At present, however, there is no provision in IITA’s protocols, and there is no money at Namulonge that could be used for this purpose.

Nor is it likely that the average microfinance program could help the women. The head of microfinance at the Centenary Rural Development Bank in Kampala was interviewed on precisely this topic. No “best practices” microfinance organization would undertake such a group loan, he explained, since there is no way of assuring accountability. Perhaps, he speculated, it could be linked to a project offering agricultural credit to women...

⁸ The rising involvement of men in what has traditionally been a woman’s crop has been encountered elsewhere in Africa where cassava’s commercial importance and profitability have risen. See, for example, Felix Nweke and Anselm Enete’s 1999 study, “Gender Surprises in Food Production, Processing and Marketing with Emphasis on Cassava in Africa” (Ibadan, Nigeria: IITA/Collaborative Study of Cassava in Africa, Working Paper No. 19). But there was a split: in West Africa (Nigeria) women were able to keep control of marketing the cassava, thereby retaining much of the profits; in East Africa, these shifted to men.

Given the new availability of funds for gender, there is a need for some creative thinking by REDSO, ASARECA and their various partners. Until then, this will remain a wonderful cassava success story, but less than a resounding gender success story, and, accordingly, less of a development success story than it might have been.

b) How PRAPACE's "bonus gender analysis" revealed gender problems that could hurt women and hinder its efforts to disseminate high-Vitamin A sweet potato flour

Vitamin A deficiency is a serious health problem hitting hardest at poor children in eastern, central and southern Africa. Accordingly, PRAPACE has been promoting new varieties high in beta carotene/Vitamin A in a five-country project. Research was carried out to measure progress in all five, but, it just so happened that one of the Kenya researchers was a woman post-harvest technician who had recently received some training in gender. She used her training to examine gender differences in how the project affected men and women – and how those male-female differences could affect the project's success or failure. None of the other country studies looked at gender, since it was not included in the research Scope of Work.

Several publications resulted from this Kenya research, but many of the "gender surprises" were dropped in the later papers in the series. Accordingly, the present summary relies mainly on the interview conducted as part of the current study and the first draft report, written for PRAPACE by the Kenya Agriculture Research Institute (KARI)/National Potato Research Center at Tigoni. The draft is entitled, "Sweetpotato Processing for Improved Vitamin A Intake: Gender Implications and Potential for Sustainable Technology Adoption in Karemo Division, Siaya District Western Kenya" (no date):

The research was an ex-ante evaluation of four "women groups (100 farmers – including men)" that had been provided with four improved varieties of sweet potato, nutrition education and processing technology. They found that women managed more than 80 percent of small sweet potato plots and, before the new varieties were introduced, they used the harvest both for food and as a source of income under their control. But that control was precarious: except for the 28.9 percent of female-headed households, all land was under the control of men.

The new varieties had markedly better yields than existing popular varieties (18-30 t/ha. vs. 5-10 t/ha.). Women said that they were able to market sweet potato as long as it was in small quantities. But:

Where large quantities are involved males sometimes assisted in transporting to markets. If these were the husbands, then most women claimed to lose control over the money from sales [even though] almost all sweet potato production and post-harvest activities are done by women and children (p. 4).

There also were considerable differences in male and female preferences with respect to the different varieties. Men selected the new varieties for market value and preferred varieties with large

roots (tuber size) and high dry matter; women also liked large/high dry matter roots, both for marketing and for making flour. But in addition, the women liked the orange, sweet, high beta carotene varieties that children – both boys and girls – enjoyed as a weaning food. The women particularly appreciated that these varieties needed less fuel and time to prepare.

The draft report also discreetly hints at a gender-linked appropriate technology debacle; the Assistant to the Coordinator of PRAPACE supplied the whole story. Machinery had been designed to permit processing the high beta carotene varieties into flour. Apparently the technicians who designed the machines were rather tall men. None of the men in the study complained about any of the machinery but the women found that to use the slicer (the first machine) they had to stand – and in a very awkward, tiring position. Worse yet, the next machine, the drum washer, required copious amounts of water. Unfortunately, he said, this was an area where women had to carry all water used for household needs. Thus, supplying enough water for the washers would have enormously increased their workload. And although the women would have all the work to make the flour, they ran the added danger that if it proved lucrative, the men might take over the proceeds.

Not surprisingly, the report notes, "there is insignificant sweet potato processing."

Thus, if a major objective was to get high beta carotene flour into the diets of the population, the research revealed the project to be on the verge of two kinds of gender-linked trouble. First, the gender-blind machinery design resulted in equipment that women could not use, and hence almost no processing ensued. Second, no precautions were taken in introducing these lucrative new varieties to prevent women from losing control of the proceeds of all their labor: Women complained about men taking over marketing and the resulting income once sales increased but there is no indication that their concerns were taken into account. If income under women's control were decreased rather than increased because of this, the final result could have been worse nutrition for their children, no matter how much Vitamin A the new variety contained. This is because children's nutrition is much more closely linked to food and income under the mother's control than the father's (see, e.g., Engle 1995; Quisumbing and Maluccio 1999).

What is most remarkable is that there seems to have been no follow-up to these revelations. No gender analysis was added to the research in the other four countries, to see if these problems extended beyond the Kenya site. Nor was there any apparent attempt to make the technology truly appropriate for the women and children who, in accordance with the local gender division of labor, would have undertaken the flour processing. It was only the fact that the IDRC grant for gender had just come through that gave PRAPACE the idea of submitting a proposal to look into these issues in all the research sites. And for that the assistant to the director asked for help from a gender specialist. Unless such assistance is granted, the research undertaken, and the projects (which still have about four years left to run) modified to take these gender issues into account, there does not seem to be a high probability that the objectives about disseminating high Vitamin A flour and improving children's nutrition will be achieved.

ii. OAU/IBAR – the discovery of women's importance in veterinary health and its aftermath

The OAU/IBAR story was elicited in Nairobi, both from REDSO and OAU/IBAR sources. It should be noted that OAU/IBAR is another of REDSO's regional partners. The geographic focus of the vignette is the same general geographic area of northern Kenya and neighboring regions of Somalia and Sudan as that discussed below in the PACT/MWENGO-WASDA vignette. It is relevant that many consider gender relations among the local pastoral/cattle raiding and frequently fighting ethnic groups in this area among the world's most patriarchal.

This makes for a challenge; it also makes for some overlap between Economic Growth/Food Security and Democracy and Governance/Conflict interests. For example, REDSO people involved in the former can tell partners and clients that animal services assistance has a prerequisite: peace. Indeed, the management of the OAU/IBAR program, which is aimed at providing much-demanded community-based animal health services, has found that the program must promote conflict resolution if it is to function.

According to OAU/IBAR, about five years ago they realized that they were dealing almost exclusively with men and that there might be advantages to promoting greater involvement by women. What happened is as follows: The OAU/IBAR team, then all-male, dealt with all-male elders, who appointed 95 percent men for animal health training and community positions. It gradually dawned on the team members that the five percent of women were outperforming the men: They were very committed, conscientious and honest. In particular, they didn't abuse the

monies from the animal health drugs that they dispensed and didn't hand out the drugs to their cronies, as so many of the men trained as animal health workers did.

So the team decided to investigate the potential for training more women. They commissioned two research studies by a woman veterinarian and gender specialist, Dr. Hellen Mulomi Amuguni. Both turned out to be first rate. The first, "Gender, Equity and Animal Health: Promoting Gender Equity to Improve the Delivery of Animal Health Care Services in Pastoral Communities, North Eastern Province, Kenya," was put out by OAU/IBAR in October 2000.

In that report, she documented the role of these ethnically Somali pastoral women in generating income from milking and the sale of milk and ghee, the importance of which has been rising:

Milk is a major source of income, used to purchase such household essentials as sugar, tealeaves, condiments, cloth and millet. Proceeds from milk sales are also used to pay school fees for children and to purchase veterinary drugs (Amuguni 2000:5).

She also documented that these women's constant interaction with animals (they carry out a wide range of activities, barring only taking responsibility for herd management and doing the actual slaughtering in butchery/skinning/processing) gives them a knowledge base of diseases and animal management that remained largely untapped. And she found that female household heads (a numerous group) had been excluded from animal health activities, such as field days, vaccination campaigns and drug user association meetings.

Dr. Amuguni recommended training women as well as men, and also offering them a way to benefit from being community-based animal health workers. For example, she suggested that if brought on board, women should be able to keep some of the monies from drugs they sold, rather

than being expected to work as volunteers, while men were offered financial incentives. She also found that women tended to be more involved in and better at business (with most shops in the nearby town run by women), as well as more honest.

Her second study was carried out in the West Pokot and Turkana Districts in northwest Kenya – marginal, frequently arid lands of often-extreme temperatures, where livestock account for the bulk of the livelihood. As in the case of the first study, that of the ethnic Somalis on both sides of the Kenyan border, the "common wisdom" that men were the mainstays of the pastoral division of labor was shown to be wrong: Women proved to have major roles in livestock management, as well as in the control of milking/milk distribution. It was the women who "care for young stock of all species, care for sick animals and treat them with traditional medicines" (Amuguni 2001:5). So once again, an animal health project that ignored the women would be less successful than one that did not. She concluded with a series of excellent recommendations, urging the collection of gender-disaggregated data, training of NGO staff in gender awareness and analysis, involving women in planning meetings, encouraging the selection – and compensation – of women as Community Animal Health Workers, and modifying the training times and locations to accommodate them.

Her work led to the hiring of two women veterinarians and a woman communications expert by OAU/IBAR. In fact, the first woman veterinarian was hired two months after Dr. Amuguni's second report was issued in March 2001, with the other two women hired in the ensuing months.

The first-hired woman veterinarian noted that most of the consultant's recommendations have not been implemented. At this time, rather than training community animal health workers (which could include more women), the project now works with NGOs, both international and national, in nine countries. And the pioneer female veterinarian now serves as a gender advisor to these NGOs, in addition to carrying out the normal duties of a veterinary field officer.

In short, three women have been hired but gender has not been elevated into a high enough priority for the other recommendations to be implemented. In particular, the project advisor claimed that he didn't know where to send his staff for gender training that would be linked to

animal husbandry and veterinary issues. The team suggested hiring Dr. Amuguni to come and train the staff – at much lower cost than sending them abroad for training.

The OAU/IBAR project keeps finding additional instances where incorporating women enhanced success. A final example is relevant in this regard: lessons learned from the 1999-2001 emergency response to the drought decimating the pastoral sector in Kenya:

During the course of massive interventions (buying starving animals, distributing meat, etc.), they found that there were women's groups in the drought region that wanted to market goats but lacked the capital. So the project gave small amounts of money to the women's groups. The women's groups paid back from the first cycle, and thereafter continued goat buying and selling on their own, i.e., they had become self-sustaining, vs. the aid-dependence found elsewhere (among men) in the emergency relief project (see Aklilu and Wekesa 2001).

To conclude, the staff members of the OAU/IBAR unit are proud of having discovered that paying attention to gender can improve their projects. Specifically, they learned that the tiny proportion of women who, by happenstance, became involved in project activities, outperformed the men. So now OAU/IBAR has taken the first steps toward what might ultimately become an example of gender mainstreaming. This also fits in with recent REDSO support for OAU/IBAR workshops that have led to women's peace initiatives and role in conflict mediation.

Indeed, one of the main “best practices” revealed in the MSI study for the conflict SO is, in fact, working with women for conflict mediation and resolution: they turned out to be remarkably good at it. Increasing women's control over income by giving them an equitable share of the animal health revenues would further enhance their ability to promote conflict resolution.

This presents another example of the potential effectiveness of a cross-sector strategy focusing on enhanced economic clout for women as a “multiplier” for the impact of initiatives in non-economic sectors, such as Democracy and Governance/Conflict and Health/HIV/AIDS,

4.3 KENYA: FIELDWORK WITH PARTNERS, SUB-PARTNERS AND CLIENTS

The performance of partners and sub-partners varied depending on their experience with gender issues. While most of them did not seem to have received any instructions on gender mainstreaming from the USAID mission staff, all were aware that gender was an important variable and were trying to incorporate it into implementation according to their own understanding. In some cases, they had already realized they were deficient in requisite skills and had already started to build their skill levels. The following selected illustrations show what is happening in the field.

A. HEALTH/HIV/AIDS PARTNERS

One of the major problems with the health SO partners is their stated belief that they are gender sensitive because they deal with reproductive health issues and because these issues involve men and women. They even proclaimed that most of their clients are women. Although this position

was repeated several times at various levels, the reality is quite different – as the following assessment of the participants of the HIV/AIDS gender task force illustrates:

The HIV/AIDS gender task force is a group that came together because they were all interested in gender issues and were working in the reproductive health field. After a few meetings, it was decided that they should have a gender workshop, with the objective of harmonizing their language as they discuss gender issues in relation to HIV/AIDS. Most of the group got a surprise. As the workshop progressed, most participants realized that they did not really know what gender issues were, let alone those in HIV/AIDS. At the end of the workshop, they resolved that the group would broaden and deepen its knowledge base on gender issues. Two of its members participated in a workshop outside the country. They then decided to take a step back in their work, in order to develop themselves, before undertaking the task of gender sensitization of the National HIV/AIDS strategic plan. They developed an action plan for all the tasks that were ahead of them. When the assessment team visited them, they were in the process of developing training modules for various people involved in the process.

Due to this common situation in the health sector (assuming they are gender sensitive because most of their clients are women), most of the partners have not taken serious measures to go through gender training and to conduct gender analysis. For example FHI conducted a gender assessment of their policy project in 1998. The recommendations have not been implemented, even though the organization still holds that the recommendations are useful to the organization.

Illustrative Stories

In order to understand what is happening in terms of gender within the partner organizations, various points made will be illustrated with real life cases from the various organizations.

FHI has maintained gender disaggregated data in the IMPACT project most of the time. This is done irrespective of whether the USAID mission demands it or not. They are proud of this gender “sensitivity.” This, however, is only the first step towards gender mainstreaming within a project. There is need to move to the next step, where those data are analyzed for project impact and decision making.

To go beyond merely collecting and reporting disaggregated data, the data should be used to address the following questions among others:

- What is the impact of the project on men and women?
- What resources and benefits are going to men/women?
- What specific problems are facing men/women, and how can these problems be addressed for greater impact?
- What factors are keeping men/women from participating, and what can be done to address these factors?

In the field of reproductive health, there is still need to go even further and to analyze the information according to gender and age. For example, issues of adolescent sexuality are of great

concern, and a very clear analysis of the gender issues within that target group should be undertaken in order to assure better targeting.

One of the common myths about gender sensitivity in the health projects is, “so long as the women participate all will be well.”

The HIV/AIDS field has particularly sensitive issues to be addressed. FHI directed the assessment team to two of its most successful projects in terms of gender mainstreaming. These were the Society of Women and AIDS in Kenya (SWAK) and the Girl Guides Association. While these projects are very successful in addressing the issues affecting women and girls, there is a great need to address gender issues in all other projects that FHI is implementing with other partners. This would add great value to the already operating projects by:

- Encouraging discussion between men and women on the subject of HIV and AIDS;
- Exposing the attitudes of men to women and vice versa; and
- Developing community action plans to fight the scourge.

FHI has supported SWAK, which is dealing with women who are affected and infected by HIV/AIDS. They are working at three sites, where they are helping women to develop coping mechanisms through the Memory Project. They also have the MSE project, where K-REP-assisted village banks are helping the women to develop their businesses. The support groups in these areas have become very strong. In Western Province, the women have refused to be inherited after the death of their spouses. Due to the importance attached to wife inheritance, the women who refuse to be inherited are considered as outcasts and their families threaten that they will not bury them when they die. Since the burial rite carries heavy cultural connotations, the support groups have vowed to bury their own members who have refused to be inherited and they have done so when the time has come. Traditionally, women in this community are not supposed to dig graves and are expected to follow the norms, as set by the “community.” This is an all-out gender war that is actually creating new values in the community. The children are also learning the coping mechanisms from the mothers, and the older ones are expected to know what to do after the death of parents, in order to avoid violation by greedy relatives. The support groups are also playing a support role to the orphans of their members.

This particular project has dealt with some important aspects of women’s empowerment, both economically and socially. Women are making decisions regarding their own lives and even as to what will happen to them after death. The project brings in the preparation of the children, so that they will be ready to face life on their own after the mother’s death, and brings in the element of the economic empowerment of the widow and the family. As a woman-focused project, it has a great impact on the participating women, as well as on society at large. This kind of information, however, is not getting back to USAID in the mission’s reports. Such information would be useful for dissemination in other areas, where women who are still learning how to control their own lives are affected or infected by HIV/AIDS. This is also a project that could benefit from more resources, especially for supporting the orphans. The kind

of support provided by the groups is very expensive when provided in foster homes outside the community.

This is just one example of what is happening in the health projects and yet the information is not going back to the USAID mission. The partners and sub-partners keep information that would assist the mission in assessing the gender impact just because they have not been asked to submit it. This information needs to enter the monitoring process rather than waiting for organized gender assessments.

B. DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE PARTNERS

The SO team has supported various projects, some gender-focused and others that are general. These two types of projects are expected to mainstream gender issues at all levels. The assessment team elected to examine one gender-focused project and one general activity project.

The two organizations funded by the SO that the team selected for study, the Collaborative Center for Gender and Development (CCGD) and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), Kenya Chapter, were mainly working at the policy level within the judiciary and parliament, as well as on the constitutional review process.

i. The Collaborative Center for Gender and Development (CCGD)

The following was observed in the work with CCGD:

1. The level of understanding of gender issues in the organization was very high. They had a close relationship with their clients and they understood what areas to address first in order to avoid resistance.
2. CCGD claimed that while they may have been selected as USAID partners because they were gender sensitive, USAID had not given them any guidelines on how to implement and report on gender issues. The RFA they responded to did not have any specific requirements in relation to gender. However, their program activity funded by USAID does address gender equity and equality issues and they have no doubt that they have to report on these issues.
3. The CCGD provided leadership in policy development to other organizations that were advocating for gender issues. It has hosted various symposia, developed position papers and other publications, and always supported upcoming networking organizations that promised to strengthen the position of women and to advocate for gender issues.
4. In dealing with legislative bills slated to go to parliament, the CCGD has worked hard to enter into the mainstream of the process, so that it could affect it from within. The CCGD, for example, has spearheaded the mainstreaming of gender issues in the on-going constitutional review process. It has not only been able to mobilize women to give their views, but also other groups, so as to get their support for the cause of women. The CCGD was also at the center of the development of the poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP), where they took it upon themselves to mobilize women for the consultations.

5. Lobbying the parliamentarians has taken center-stage, especially in the affirmative action bill, and also for all other bills and motions where gender issues have been deemed to be critical. Lobbying is a skill that is not fully developed and needs to be addressed, so that it can be used for maximum impact and be widespread among the actors.
6. While CCGD is current on gender issues and doing everything possible to mainstream gender at the policy levels, it does not maintain gender-disaggregated data for its own activities. While it has data on the percentage of women and men represented in all spheres of life, it does not collect gender-disaggregated data on those who participated in CCGD-organized activities.

ii. International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), Kenya Chapter

The following observations were made concerning ICJ:

1. The level of understanding of gender issues among the staff of ICJ is fairly high. They are aware of the issues within the judiciary where gender disparities exist.
2. ICJ claimed that while they may have been selected as USAID partners because they were gender sensitive, USAID had not given them any guidelines on how to implement and report on gender issues. The RFA that they responded to did not have any requirements in relation to gender. They are, however, sensitive to the fact that the judiciary has some inherent practices and traditions that continue to perpetuate gender discrimination and that these have to be addressed.
3. ICJ, which is a male-dominated organization, has been in close collaboration with women's organizations, which deal with women's rights and legal issues, in order to keep itself abreast of these issues and also to provide support when required.
4. Though ICJ tries to integrate gender in all its programs, it does not have a gender policy to guide either its organizational development or its program. ICJ is in the process of sourcing funding to develop such a policy.
5. While ICJ is current on issues and doing everything possible to mainstream gender within the judiciary and judicial processes, it does not maintain gender disaggregated data for their own activities. This was particularly noted in their research activities, where disaggregation of data would have provided them with ample ammunition to fight certain gender prejudices within the judiciary.⁹

Illustrative Stories on Gender Sensitivity

Being a female director of a male-dominated organization and having worked with a women's organization before, the Director of the ICJ, Kenya realizes that society still listens to its male members more than to women. Therefore, she argued, one of the most effective ways of getting the women's agenda heard and

⁹ International Commission of Jurists. Strengthening Judicial Reforms: Public Perceptions of the Kenya Judiciary. Nairobi.

acted upon is by getting a committed male group to advocate for women's and gender issues. She has, therefore, identified a group of men among the ICJ membership and leadership who are ready to be associated with the issues and who believe that "civilized men support women's empowerment;" she calls upon this group whenever there is an issue that needs to be dealt with. The success achieved so far has been encouraging and she would like to take the strategy further by popularizing it among the members.

ICJ has learned that the best way to advocate for gender issues is to practice them within their own organization. They therefore have a very balanced staff in terms of gender. The composition of the board still needs to be addressed but that male-dominated board has a fairly high awareness of gender. The board has approved three months maternity and a two-week paternity leave. During the study, one of the members of the support staff had put the organization's gender sensitivity to the test. He needed time off because his child had been hospitalized. Since it was necessary to have a member of the family in the hospital on a full time basis, he wanted to take turns with his wife. The time off was granted without any problem, and it was used for the stated purpose.

In sum, the mission's selection of partners for its DG activities has played a great role in the advancement of the gender agenda. The partners selected were known to have gender as a key concern and therefore the mission staff selected them to implement specific activities that would help in mainstreaming gender issues and enhance the empowerment of women. The activities carried out by these two organizations have gone a long way in impacting policy in relation to both constitutional reform and the judiciary, despite the fact that neither group disaggregated the participants in its own activities by gender.

C. ECONOMIC GROWTH PARTNERS

In this SO, the assessment team was able to contact the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI), the Kenya Rural Enterprise Program (K-REP), and the Appropriate Technologies for Enterprise Creation (Appro-TEC). The three organizations have the following commonalities in terms of gender:

1. These organizations were all aware that including gender considerations in project implementation added value to the project and ensured that all targeted beneficiaries benefited from the project. This awareness, however, existed at different levels and therefore actions taken by the organizations were varied.
2. No demands have been made on the organizations by USAID in terms of reporting requirements using gender disaggregated data, nor was training provided to that effect.
3. The organizations do not have a policy framework for mainstreaming gender in their organizations and programs and therefore had no clear process for doing so.
4. The skills for mainstreaming gender are quite limited in all three organizations and, in each, requests were made for training.

i. An example from KARI

Bananas have been known as a traditional women's crop in Kenya over the years. Women have used them as a perennial food crop that tides the family over during hard times, and they have also sold the surplus to take care of family household expenses. KARI's breeding program has introduced new varieties of bananas that are more productive, disease resistant and more durable in the market environment. This has changed the dynamics within the crop. Men have taken up banana production and marketing seriously, and women have been sidelined. At the household level, the new varieties have replaced the old ones, and since the new varieties of bananas command high economic value, they have fallen under the control of men. At the market level, men generally have greater possibilities for raising capital to purchase produce in bulk. The bananas are therefore transported in trucks from the local markets to the big towns. While KARI has won the scientific war and raised banana production, women often have been marginalized. In some cases the bananas are not even available to the local community because they are all sold outside the area for higher profits – thus denying the women much-needed income from local sales.

One of the strategies adopted for economic growth is increasing productivity in the selected sub-sectors. One would have assumed that the new banana varieties would be controlled by women, as this was the case with the traditional banana variety. The questions to ask in these circumstances are:

- What could have been done so that the control of the banana crop would not shift from women to men?
- What other interventions should have accompanied the production technology so that women would retain most of the benefits?
- Should the banana crop have been left in its traditional mode of production in order to remain under women's control?
- What can be done now to address the disparity that has already been created?

This phenomenon also underscores the fact that when tradition benefits men, they will uphold it, and even use it to continue keeping women in subordination. On the other hand, men will drop the tradition if they stand to benefit by doing so. This is an area that needs to be examined and carefully analyzed in the future in order to avoid the repetition of such occurrences.

KARI has been able to identify some of these problems because they have a certain level of gender awareness that enables them to notice such problems when they arise. Carrying out a gender analysis at the beginning of a project may actually help to prevent women being further marginalized by project activities that were intended to uplift their economic and social status.

ii. The Money Maker Irrigation Pump

Appro-TEC, an organization that provides manually operated hand pumps has been a success story in taking gender issues into account. The pumps have made an impact in providing both irrigation and domestic water supply. Considering the important role that technology plays in increasing production, Appro-TEC has manufactured a pump that is easily operated by men, women and children. The following is a testimony from one of the families that has used the pump from its inception.

Mr. and Mrs. Njuguna have been using the “money maker” pumps since 1997. They had purchased the first model immediately after inception and they have benefited a great deal. They have been horticultural farmers for many years, but their operations are too small to pay for a diesel pump. They were using bucket irrigation which was very tedious and therefore greatly limited the size of land that they could farm for vegetables. The “money maker” was ideal for them. They continued to use the “money maker” until the “super money maker” was introduced. This model had a greater capacity of pumping and they therefore felt that they would make a greater output and profit.

According to the Njugunas, the pumps have revolutionized their farming methods and also their family income. Their production has become more efficient, and they have therefore managed to put most of their land under cultivation for both horticulture and fodder. They now maintain two dairy cows that provide milk for sale and family consumption. The cows also provide sufficient manure for use in horticultural farming. Every member of the family

enjoys working the pump and, therefore, the irrigation work is shared between the husband and wife as well as by the male and female children.

Mrs. Njuguna believes that she has more access to and control of the income from horticultural farming than do the wives of coffee farmers. This is because the products are either collected and paid for at the farm gate or personally sold by her at the market. She is, therefore, always aware of the money available and in many cases, she buys household necessities while at the market. She has only praise for the “money maker” because, in her words, “the family has no other source of income and therefore eats, dresses and goes to school only because of the ‘money maker.’”

Moreover, their children have all operated the “money maker” since 1997 and are very happy with it. When Appro-TEC was recruiting demonstrators, two of the children, both boys, went for the interview and got the jobs. At the time the assessment team visited, one of the children has been doing the job for a year and the other for a month. The Njugunas attribute their success to family unity and to the “money maker.”

In summary, Appro-TEC, as an organization offering intermediate technology, and “money maker” pumps specifically, has made the following impact on gender dynamics:

- Produced a technology that is not intimidating to ordinary people and especially to women.
- Men and women were consulted in the development of the technology, and their views have been recorded and utilized for improvement.
- The technology has mainly been marketed as being suitable for horticultural farming, an area in which women are more involved and have greater control, both in the family division of labor and with respect to control of resources. This has not only increased the

family income but also has increased the contribution of women to the family budget, giving them more self-esteem.

- The marketing of the technology has been decentralized, making it possible for men and women farmers to access the demonstrations and, therefore, to make informed decisions.
- The technology can be utilized not only for farming but also for domestic water supply, which greatly reduces the workload of women.

In sum, all the EG organizations that were assessed had a certain level of gender awareness and recognized that projects that mainstreamed gender ran more effectively and efficiently. They were, however, all aware that they needed better skills to make their projects more gender responsive.

4.4 RWANDA: FIELDWORK WITH PARTNERS, SUB-PARTNERS AND CLIENTS

What did the fieldwork in Rwanda show concerning gender? Again, the sectors are presented in the same order as in the paper trail analysis, above.

Women are benefiting from the USAID program, despite the fact that gender is not mainstreamed in a systematic fashion. One of the key issues is that for many of the mission personnel and partners, gender equals women. Many of the missions' activities are designed around women. As a result, there is no systematic requirement for the SO teams to request, track or monitor sex-disaggregated data, or to engage in gender analysis. There is recognition of the ADS requirements on gender reporting, but mission members state that the guidelines are not clear and that they do the best that they can. The team's interviews with partners similarly demonstrated a clear focus on women, not on gender. Similarly, there was no systematic attempt by partners to collect sex-disaggregated data.

A. DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE

i. Haguruka (Stand Up)

One DG partner that the team visited was Haguruka, an organization that promotes the rights of women and children in Rwanda. Its 100 members are predominantly women. The Board of Directors is composed of three men and six women. The main objectives of Haguruka are:

- Promotion of human rights;
- Eradication of discrimination against women and children; and
- Creating an awareness of human rights conventions.

Haguruka also seeks to empower women and children through the following strategies:

- Training about human rights, with specific emphasis on women and children;
- Human rights advocacy aimed at the General Assembly and all ministries dealing with gender and human rights; and
- Production of materials on human rights.

Haguruka has a group of four lawyers who are trained to deal with problems of women and children and to work with paralegals in local communities.

Haguruka utilizes 350 paralegals throughout the country, only 20 of whom are men. They are well trained to deal with the main problems of women and children at the community level and are also able to help the women and children to seek professional legal help when necessary. The paralegals work with MIGEPROFE structures at all levels.

The main problems faced by women and children are limited property rights, unfavorable inheritance laws, violence, and the lack of legal recognition of customary marriage. The law does not protect women and children if a marriage is not legalized. It is up to men to determine if a marriage is legalized. According to Rose Mukantabana, the National Executive Secretary of Haguruka, women settle for customary marriages. This is because if they push for legalized marriages, men will just go somewhere else.

Haguruka is a member of the Rwanda Women's Network that encompasses all women NGOs in the country. Organizations like Haguruka, a women's and children's rights group, were engulfed by hundreds of women asking for legal help after being turned away from their land. Even though the Rwandan Constitution has supported equal rights since 1992, customary practice remained vastly different.

"The Constitution was not applied," explains Edda Mukabagwiza, Executive Director of Hagururka. Judges - almost exclusively men - tended to side with cultural norms over constitutional niceties, she says. "The woman had no rights to property because property belonged to men. Only boys had the right to inherit. The most important thing in this new law is the equality between women and men, girl and boy."

Haguruka, working with its countrywide network of paralegals, attempts to inform women of their legal rights. Knowledge alone is not sufficient for women to be able to take action. Work also needs to be done to educate men about women's rights. But will education be enough? Land inheritance is a zero-sum game and giving women a piece of the pie cuts into men's share of the principal economic resource for the 90% of the population that is rural. Haguruka's work represents a start to what is likely to be a long, difficult process to implement the rights given women by the new Constitution.

ii. International Rescue Committee (IRC)

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) is another major partner for USAID/Rwanda. The work of IRC is critical to women's empowerment, although the programs are currently not designed from a gender mainstream perspective. The IRC, working with the GOR, is helping to decentralize authority and to give communities the power to make decisions. In 1999, national elections were held at local levels, empowering democratically elected officials to act on behalf of their communities. The election guidelines called for 1/3 of all the local officials elected to be women. As noted above, 26% of those elected at the cellule and district levels in early March 2001 were women.

The IRC, working with the GOR, is helping to build capacity in local communities by empowering women and youth to join the decision-making process. In 2001, four additional seats were added to parliament, two for youth and two for women specifically. And, in fact, on the national level women have made significant progress in the area of political participation. Women were elected to 19 out of 74 seats, i.e., 25.7% of parliamentarians are women. In 1998, five Ministers were women and at the sub-ministerial level there were 20 women.

Moreover, another one of the ways women's participation at the local level in Rwanda is being increased is by the creation of elected "Women Committees" at each level of government administration. A joint initiative of the MIGEFASO and women's organizations, these grassroots structures consist of ten women who are elected in women-only elections to represent women's concerns at each level of government. The lowest level of representation is that of the cell (*cellule*), where the committee is elected by individual women from a population of 2,000-5,000 people. The committee members at the cell level elect the committee members at the next administrative level, the sector, and so on up to each of the twelve prefectures in Rwanda.

In short, USAID/Rwanda SO1 partners have focused activities on building the capacity of women. This is commendable and they have done an excellent job. However, the time has come for gender mainstreaming in all activities (see Appendix E). The first steps are for the SO team and each partner to: 1) formulate objectives, indicators and outcomes in terms of gains for both men and women, and 2) collect data on males and females and analyze those data to better understand the link between macro-level social policy and micro-level impact on individual lives.

B. HEALTH/HIV/AIDS

The team's opportunities to meet with Health partners and SO team members were limited, due to the presence of another assessment team working while this team was at the mission. However, this team did meet with a member of the SO team, and two partners – FHI/IMPACT and World Relief. The team also worked with the gender assessment person on the visiting health assessment team. In this capacity the team was present for a discussion with the religious leaders in Rwanda and we met with FAWE (this will be discussed below). In general, the team found that the health initiatives are well positioned for incorporating gender analysis into activities.

i. FHI/IMPACT

In fact, FHI/IMPACT in Rwanda is already designing and carrying out projects that mainstream gender. Staff said that IMPACT was engaging in programs to modify behavior. They automatically assess gender in all of their activities in order to understand their clients. For example, she told the team that in 2000, IMPACT undertook the first round of Behavior Surveillance Surveys (BSS). The BSS provides valuable data about HIV/AIDS-related knowledge, attitudes and behaviors. The BSS methodology is a monitoring and evaluation tool designed to track trends in HIV/AIDS-related knowledge, attitudes and behaviors in sub-populations at particular risk of HIV infection, such as female sex workers, migrant men and youth. Clearly they are collecting and using sex-disaggregated data.

Furthermore, IMPACT has conducted focus groups in three VCT sites in Rwanda, utilized sex-disaggregated data, and designed new services and activities around the three sites. Two sites are offering a program of prophylaxis for tuberculosis (TB) and other opportunistic infections for people who are found to be HIV positive. At each of these sites, IMPACT also is supporting small-scale projects with the local association of people living with HIV/AIDS (PLHA). In addition, two of the VCT sites are participating in IMPACT's efforts to prevent mother-to-child transmission of HIV (MTCT). MTCT programs will be introduced in at least two additional health facilities where VCT services already are fully operational. The Director clearly has mainstreamed gender into IMPACT's activities.

ii. World Relief

World Relief (WR) is an organization that works mainly with churches on issues of HIV/AIDS prevention and care. The basis of their work is family protection and preservation. The program is targeted to church leaders who, in turn, train and inform the membership, especially the youth, about the problems of HIV/AIDS. A youth manual on HIV already has been developed both in French and Kinyarwanda.

Considering that the church leadership in Rwanda is predominantly male, WR targets both men and women, without strong reference to gender considerations:

- A) This provides a very good opportunity to work with a male clientele. Men rarely attend awareness programs on HIV/AIDS and this would target them without indicating that it was targeted to men.
- B) This program also targets women by insisting that the leaders of women's activities in the church needed to be trained alongside the men.
- C) Both male and female children are involved in taking care of dying parents. It is important that they receive skills to do so, as well as skills for survival after the death of parents.

A manual on care has been developed in English, French, Kiswahili and Kinyarwanda. All the manuals developed have been very successful if one can measure success by demand. The manuals also have been distributed to microfinance group members.

The partners' focus on HIV/AIDS is well-placed, given the CBOs that they work through. The message is that HIV/AIDS can be prevented if one is faithful to one's partner and if abstinence is practiced outside of marriage. Both FHI/IMPACT and World Relief proved well-aware of gender mainstreaming and utilized data and knowledge about gender roles and responsibilities when designing and carrying out activities.

C. ECONOMIC GROWTH/FOOD SECURITY

One partner discussed in the Rwanda mission report under Democracy and Governance, the International Rescue Committee (IRC), also should be considered under this rubric. In addition, both partners and community-based organizations/clients were visited for this SO.

i. Women in Transition Project (WIT)

USAID worked with the Rwandan Ministry of Family and Women Promotion on the Women in Transition Initiative (WTI). WTI provided 1,600 grants to 1,450 women's associations in 85 communes and 11 of Rwanda's 12 prefectures. As reported by Buddy Shanks, the Acting Director of the WIT Project, these WTI grants have been used for shelter, livestock, income generation and other activities, improving the lives of more than 163,000 beneficiaries. The WIT Project falls between two SOs – Democracy and Governance and Economic Growth. Under its original funding, the main objective for the WIT Project was to provide economic empowerment for women, leading to participation in community level decision-making and as a means of promoting unity and reconciliation. To this end, they have done a fantastic job and are to be commended.

WIT's phenomenal success in reaching and funding women's activities in isolated and insecure communal sectors has been well documented. Now the program is poised to move in a new strategic direction that entrenches local ownership and enhances the prospects for sustainability beyond the lifetime of USAID funding. Instead of providing direct support to as many women's associations as it has done previously, WIT will concentrate in the future on strengthening the Women's Communal Funds (WCFs). The WCFs are equivalent to women's community banks and, to date, WIT has trained and funded 26 of them (<http://www.usaid.gov>).

a) The Abashyirahamwe Association Shelter Project

The team visited one of the shelter initiatives funded by the WIT Project. In this case, thirty women who fled Rwanda during the civil war and later returned found themselves landless, homeless and hungry. They formed an association in the hope of obtaining agricultural land from the local administration. They got land. They carried out farming activities and they were able both to provide food for their families and to sell a little bit to earn cash. When the WIT project started in this commune, the local administration was aware of this group of women who were desperate for shelter. The women's group applied for a shelter grant and they were given the resources to build 30 houses. WIT provided funds directly to the association, thus enabling the women to make their own determinations. This method of project implementation made women responsible for the management of the grant and the construction process. The plan was to construct a few houses at a time until all the houses were completed. It was the women's responsibility to determine who was most desperate and therefore build their houses accordingly. WIT funding provided the women with not only the means to build houses, but also with opportunities for decision making, leadership and sharing.

A side benefit mentioned by the women during the interview was that since this project was in operation as the women were returning to the country after the genocide, it served as a therapy group, and many of the women have had their self-esteem restored. They learned how to withdraw money from a bank, purchase materials for building a house and supervise the construction of the houses - activities that they had never done before in their lives. The women's lives had been devastated, and having a project that needed their concentration and continuous collaboration really helped to put their lives together.

WIT, as a project, has progressed from supplying shelter to women returnees to a level where it funds individual women's enterprises through the Women's Communal Fund. This, within a period of six years, is a phenomenal achievement. For the women to be provided with assistance they had to be organized in associations. These associations helped in tracking the loans and encouraging the members to carry out their objectives. The associations also have acted as a forum for leadership development for women. The grassroots associations have their own elected leadership who are trained in how to run their association. These associations elect representatives to the cell level and up to the commune level.¹⁰ This committee of representatives from different levels makes the decision on the loans. The women are, therefore, receiving practical leadership training as they execute their duties. It is no wonder that WIT is credited with contributing significantly towards the election of many women to the local councils during the last elections. WIT thus provides the type of cross-sector linkages that are necessary to long-term development.

b) The Gekoro Fisheries Project

Two women's associations were given a loan to construct fishponds and to buy fingerlings. The project progressed satisfactorily and the women were able to pay back a two-year WIT loan over the course of 18 months. This project was deemed a success. In the meantime, WIT stopped monitoring the project, as the loan had been repaid

Unfortunately, at the end of the second year, the fishing nets – which were old to begin with – disintegrated and fell apart. The group did not know where to get replacement nets. The women have not fished for commercial purposes for the last year. During our field visit, it was discovered that the ponds were covered by weeds and not in use. Something must be done to rescue the project or it will fail. This is an example of lack of WIT follow-up of completed projects. It is also an indication of the lack of project ownership by the beneficiaries. Fortunately, the Vice-Mayor for Gesabo district accompanied us on the field visit. She will ensure that the women's associations are informed on how to apply for another loan to buy a net.

The women did not know how to get another net. The group has used simple methods to provide enough fish for improvement of their diets, but not enough fish to provide an economic return on their investment. The problem was only brought to light because this assessment team insisted on following project funds to the grassroots level. The lack of monies allocated to post-project follow-up is a critical issue. This is especially true in Rwanda among poor rural women, where education and capacity may be limited. The problem (no net) for this once-successful group should have been discovered earlier and resolved. The problem could also have been foreseen during project implementation, and necessary steps taken to educate participants about 1) net mending or 2) net replacement.

However, this is symptomatic of a larger problem. Having funded so many associations, WIT does not have the capacity (i.e., funding) to follow up on all of the associations that it has worked with in the past. It becomes difficult for the WIT Project to track a project two years down the

¹⁰ Twenty-seven percent of councilors at the commune level are women and some of them are in mayoral positions. There are 106 mayors but no data were found giving the percent of women.

line. Even while deemed successful under the rubric of an activity or a loan agreement, some of the projects may not have had the impact that they were expected to have.

ii. CARE International

CARE International is a USAID partner in the economic growth SO. They are partnering in running a micro enterprise project that is based purely on members' savings. This project has encouraged poor families to mobilize their savings through local associations and cooperatives which already existed before CARE started working in the community.

While USAID/Rwanda has not been requesting gender-disaggregated data, CARE requires it of its partners and they generally keep their data that way. The project baseline data are disaggregated and they, therefore, will make it easy to monitor the gender aspects of the project. Gender is also included as a topic in CARE's community training, where it is discussed according to the local community traditions.

In order to be sensitive to community needs, CARE has trained a team of community advisors. Currently there are 143 advisors, of whom 56 are women. While the advisors are not paid for working in their own community, they are paid for consulting in other communities – that is, in assisting other communities to implement savings association schemes. Since their fees are determined in accordance with the local agricultural wage, it should be possible for communities to hire facilitators, even when CARE has pulled out of the project.

CARE demonstrates that it is easy to keep gender-disaggregated data and to use the data in meaningful ways to assist projects at the community level, and at no additional cost. Gender-disaggregated data are utilized as a management tool resulting in better projects that have the potential to operate with only minimal support from the donor.

iii. Forum for Women Educationalists (Rwanda) and FAWE Girls School (FAWE)

The funding for the FAWE Girls School was under a special initiative and not part of the regular SO program. However, we are incorporating this partner in our report, both in recognition of the work that they do and to demonstrate that special funding categories are often useful. FAWE's vision begins with a seemingly simple notion: Education for all is both a human right and a development necessity. FAWE is committed to equitable access to a full range of educational opportunities and resources for girls. FAWE is seeking to end gender disparities in education. The goal of the organization is to provide more girls with access to schooling, and to help them complete their studies by removing many of the obstacles that young women face, thus enabling them to perform well at all levels. Some of the major concerns in girls' education in Rwanda being addressed by FAWE are: high drop-out rates for girls at all levels of education; lower academic performance for girls at all levels; low enrollments in science and mathematics, and low enrollments in tertiary institutions. Other concerns include sexual harassment of girls in school as well as outside of school; very poor school environment/sanitation; lack of boarding facilities for girls; teachers, parents, and communities that do not attach value to the education of girls, and a lack of baseline data on girls' education. FAWE seeks to create positive societal attitudes to reinforce policies and practices that promote equity for girls – in terms of access, retention, performance and quality – by influencing the transformation of educational systems in Africa in general and in Rwanda in particular.

The team's visit with this partner and then with the school was a treat. While this is a women- or girls-focused program, the goal of the program – “The Centers of Excellence” – is to take an integrated approach to solving the problem of limited educational opportunities for girls. They provide a full educational opportunity. FAWÉ's Girls School in Rwanda is in its fourth year of operation. They admit 60 girls every year. Their current enrollment is 237 girls. They have lost only three girls in four years. This is an amazing record of retention.

At the school the team interviewed teachers and students. We explored the facilities and watched the girls at work and play. The school literally lived up to its proclaimed program of excellence.

The strengths of the partners under this SO are their synergies and linkages across SO teams. Particularly at the economic level, where resources are scarce, people should be at the forefront of all anticipated results. If the goal is to move Rwanda beyond its dependence on agriculture, the population must be educated. Given the cultural and structural barriers to girls' education, it makes good financial sense to fund this type of program. Likewise in the economic realm, if one wants to increase farmers' yields, one must know whether the farmer is male or female. One also must know what the gender difference is in terms of crops; resources; access to markets, agricultural extension, credit and inputs; decision-making power, and available labor resources, as well as other competing demands on time. This will enable an activity to appropriately target groups to get expected outcomes.

4.5 TANZANIA: FIELDWORK WITH PARTNERS, SUB-PARTNERS AND A FEW CLIENTS

The assessment team found a mixed picture with respect to USAID's partners' attention to gender and also with respect to whether they felt pressure from the mission to disaggregate and report their data broken down by gender.

The average level of knowledge about gender varied greatly. Some thought that gender meant “women” and felt that if they were dealing with women clients, then they were dealing with gender. Others went one step further and collected low-level gender-disaggregated data on clients, participants in trainings, etc. This monitoring approach, however, is far from what is required for a gender analysis, and especially for gender mainstreaming. Still others had a more sophisticated knowledge concerning the field of gender and development, but often they were not actually implementing their knowledge.

In general, despite the often low level of knowledge encountered, partners believed that gender was an important dimension that added value to their activities. In almost every visit to USAID partners, someone asked for help with gender training. While some wanted the basics, others wanted more advanced and practical training in gender disaggregation of data, and actual gender analyses. None asked for help in “gender mainstreaming.” This concept is not well understood by partners, nor by many USAID/Tanzania staff.

In the discussion that follows, the team's findings regarding USAID partners are presented and several success stories are highlighted. These stories demonstrate the need to take economic

factors into account and, where possible, transform them into vehicles for advancing projects in other development sectors.

A. HEALTH/HIV/AIDS

In a finding that mirrors that in Kenya, one of the big problems with the health SO partners is their stated belief that they are gender-sensitive and are taking gender into account because, after all, so many of their clients are women. First, this shows the frequent conflation of gender with women. Second, it may cause good health programs to miss the boat because they don't have a level of understanding of gender sufficient to ensure appropriate targeting to the key subgroups, defined by gender, age and/or other social variables (e.g., rural vs. urban). In fact, the average knowledge level about gender found among the partners was probably lower than in the other sectors (in contrast to the high gender knowledge of the mission health team). But their eagerness for in-depth gender training was probably higher. Here are some details:

i. PSI

Many health sector partners claimed they were giving more attention to gender than the team found empirically, and others claimed more knowledge about gender than team members felt they had. Therefore, it was refreshing to find a group – PSI/Tanzania – claiming less knowledge and practice of gender analysis than the team observed.

The visit to PSI/Tanzania began with the director's confession that gender usually was equated with women in their work. But he then proceeded to give a perfect example of a gender analysis:

Example of Effective Gender Analysis

The problem that PSI had to solve was how to market its new products, a mosquito net that would protect against malaria and the chemical treatment that had to be periodically soaked into the netting to keep the protection level adequate. First they learned that the cost of the net was high enough that women couldn't afford to buy it. So the target became the husband: not only did he have to be convinced to buy the new net but he also had to be persuaded that the people who needed it most were his children and his pregnant wife (these are the most vulnerable groups; malaria, in fact, is one of the principal complications of pregnancy in Tanzania). Next, PSI learned that the cost of the chemical treatment (about \$.45) was cheap enough for women to be able to buy it with their money allotted for basic necessities. Therefore, the target for the chemical had to be the wife. This informal gender analysis proved successful, and the new products are doing very well.

The vignette illustrates how a gender analysis made a project more successful. The key seems to be that PSI undertook the analysis for market-driven reasons. This is the same incentive that drove SO4/Economic Growth partners to seek the best women microfinance clients for business training: these women were expected to benefit from the training and then spread the word.

The PSI director also told of other instances where PSI offices in other countries undertook what amounted to gender analyses and, as a consequence, improved their targeting and their results. One example took place in Zambia:

Gender Analysis Improves Target and Results

PSI staff learned that targeting young girls to influence their boyfriends to use condoms was not a good idea. The decision of whether to use a condom was the man's to make, and these girls had no leverage over their boyfriends' sexual practices (either with them or with other partners). They learned, however, that targeting younger girls who were still virgins, was surprisingly effective: the decision to say "no!" was the girl's to make. This led PSI to launch a campaign based on "virgin power, virgin pride" that proved more effective than aiming messages at girls already sexually active or at their boyfriends.

As a final note, PSI claimed never to have had explicit conversations about gender with USAID, although the subject sometimes arose in discussions of other topics. Nor had PSI received any direct USAID pressure to disaggregate indicators by gender; rather, questions sometimes were posed about who used various PSI products. This points to the hit-or-miss institutionalization of gender within USAID, and between USAID and its partners; much was left up to the individuals.

ii. AFRICARE

Africare's director began by telling the team: "Whenever most people say 'gender,' they usually mean "women. When we think about gender, we think about men." This comment was made in reference to Africare's work in HIV/AIDS on the 95% Muslim-populated island of Zanzibar. There, the culture and the position of women make it imperative to get the cooperation of men in order to achieve the objective of slowing the spread of HIV infection.

Consequently, Africare trained some of these men to talk about AIDS and made a breakthrough. With the help of the first men trained, they were able to reach other (mostly middle aged) male religious and political community leaders, i.e., the local imams and shefas. With their help, Africare was also able to reach the legislators, who even sported red ribbons and made AIDS prevention part of their political platform. The local imams and shefas have agreed to promote AIDS prevention, as long as it does not involve the promotion or use of condoms (which they regard as inciting illicit sex, rather than as a weapon to ward off AIDS). The messages chosen, instead, were faithfulness to one's spouse(s), and/or abstinence.

There was a problem with these messages, however, as the team learned from both interviews with the Africare staff and from subsequent fieldwork in Zanzibar: faithfulness and abstinence do not fit the social patterns on Zanzibar. Many men have extra wives and/or girlfriends. A man rarely is able to marry before his mid-20s, or later, because of the prevalent practice of "brideprice." Women are valued as producers (they do about 70% of cultivation on the island) and their economic value is reflected in the brideprice paid by the groom and his family to the bride and her family. (Anthropological evidence indicates that brideprice is most often found where women are important producers, whereas the opposite custom, dowry, which is paid by the bride's family to the groom's family, is found where women are not important producers.) Also, the average age of marriage is rising for women in part because more girls are going to school. So, there remain a number of years where men have no religiously sanctioned sex partners. Despite the imams' assertion otherwise, few of these men remain celibate.

And it's not just any men, but mainly men aged 35 years and above. This is the critical target group partly because these men are likely vehicles for the transmission of HIV to young girls, who have the highest infection rate, and also because they are the best positioned in their society to speak out about AIDS. Before receiving Africare training, such men didn't want to talk about AIDS. In fact, men proved to be much more embarrassed about the stigma of AIDS than were their female counterparts.

Africare works through the NGO Cluster in Zanzibar. The Cluster's 30 community-based organizations (CBOs) include women's groups, a youth group, a legal rights NGO, a Muslim group and representatives from several other Muslim entities, Christian CBOs, media groups, a retired army group, and the local People Living with HIV/AIDS NGO. Africare works to improve the organizational capacity of these CBOs, as a first step.

When the assessment team went to Zanzibar to follow up with the NGO Cluster and its member CBOs, the overall impression was of a much greater realism on the part of the women's groups than among their Muslim male counterparts. For example, the men representing local Muslim groups maintained high levels of denial that Muslims would engage in illicit sex, even when they were pressured to explain the increasing rates of STDs, as well as HIV/AIDS infection. Their explanation initially was that it was outsiders/tourists who were responsible. Ultimately, they conceded that not everyone was a good Muslim and that men were more likely to transgress than were women. However, they would not go beyond their faith-based message in their advocacy for AIDS prevention. The women's groups were more realistic and went farther.

In particular, one women's group devised an effective approach to reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS in the remote fishing villages of the western districts. They reasoned that increasing women's economic power was the crucial element. According to the president:

- ▶ *If you have power, especially economic power, you can discuss with your husband, because you have something; but if you don't have economic power, you have nothing to say, you have no right, because you are dependent on him.*

This group's main objective was to empower women. Towards this objective, they promoted income generation, introducing poultry and pottery production as income sources in these remote villages. They also train women in other activities, such as how to prevent HIV/AIDS. With the income, the women gain more power and self-confidence. The president stated proudly:

- ▶ *Now they tell their husbands to use condoms when they are away fishing. The women from these villages always tell the group's organizers, "when you come back, you must bring lots of condoms, posters and leaflets!"*

Africare reported that it did not receive direct guidance from USAID to do gender targeting; it was something the organization initiated on its own.

B. DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE

The assessment team found that there was no top DG person in place in the mission for three years, and that little was done during the hiatus. The up side of this is that there is three years' worth of money in the pipeline that can be used to promote DG. (There is also the possibility that the "disappearance of gender" previously noted in the DG paper trail analysis, is linked to the three-year gap in DG oversight in the mission. However, the paper trail revealed little attention to gender even before the hiatus.)

USAID staff described difficulties faced by recent hires because of the fact that there is little training provided these days, in gender or other areas. Nevertheless, the DG staff has attempted to pursue a gender-sensitive approach on their own initiative. This is in keeping with the assessment team finding that in the absence of strong institutional guidelines, attention to gender devolves to the individual level. Moreover, the DG team considered gender to be a crosscutting issue, along with anti-corruption activities, and sought to work it into ongoing programming. (There is an empirically established link between gender and corruption, the two main crosscutting issues of the DG program. Specifically, some World Bank and other studies have found an inverse relationship between the proportion of women in a public sector agency or governing body and the average level of corruption (Mason and King 2001).)

The SO team's recent programming includes an emphasis on working with NGOs to promote DG. This is a potential boon for inserting women's issues and concerns into the SO, since some 80% of Tanzanian NGOs are believed to be involved with women directly or to espouse issues that would disproportionately interest/benefit women. However, DG staff admitted that thus far there has been no consistent, systematic program to incorporate gender into the work of the SO team. They reported that they intend to rely on PACT, a partner organization, to integrate gender issues into their programs. Given PACT's lack of background on this issue (see discussion in the Tanzania report), one wonders if it will have sufficiently expert staff to carry this off.

Since the DG success stories highlighted in the "paper trail" review emphasized women-led NGOs, the assessment team decided to visit organizations of this type that already had a track record on gender. This led to visits with TANGO and TGNP, and a look at what might be the strongest successes of DG activities in Tanzania to date. Due to space limitations, only the TGNP story is presented here (both groups are discussed in the Tanzania report).

i. Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP)

The Tanzania Gender Networking Program's (TGNP) story began in 1993 during the preparatory process for the Beijing conference. The founders felt that there were many gender/women-focused NGOs working at the grass roots level but few working at policy levels. They decided that they needed to do three things to work effectively at the policy level:

- ▶ Information generation and dissemination;
- ▶ Capacity building (in fact, they are becoming a resource for the government, NGOs and local partners when it comes to gender training, lobbying, advocacy and gender analysis skills), and
- ▶ Activism, lobbying and advocacy (they form coalitions with other NGOs to try to change policies).

Thus far, they have focused on promoting three areas:

- ▶ Gender budget initiative
- ▶ Land rights lobbying
- ▶ Constitutional lobbying.

USAID has not been one of TGNP's major donors. Most of its money comes from a basket fund to which various other donors, but not USAID, contribute. The mission's support has been critical, however, in relation to TGNP's lobbying and advocacy work on the land law. In actuality, a collective of NGOs worked on this with mission funding. The money enabled the NGOs to go directly to members of Parliament, as well as to work jointly with other organizations. The results were a partial success (as described above, in the "paper trail" analysis). Since then, the group has not received additional funding from USAID.

Since the end of mission funding for land law lobbying, TGNP's main USAID contact has been DG participation at the gender festival TGNP holds every two years. However, they remain indirectly involved in USAID-funded activities because their training, policy analysis, gender budgeting and other skills are used by organizations the mission is currently supporting. TGNP is formulating a new five-year plan; soon it will ask USAID and other donors for assistance.

Part of TGNP's strategy for the future is to become a part-time consulting organization (percentage of time undetermined). They plan to sell services such as training and gender analysis. When questioned by the assessment team about the quality of the training the team observed in a workshop run by TGNP for CARE, TGNP leaders indicated that the training is not yet up to uniform standards of excellence. It was explained that the organization is still working to develop gender training manuals and to make training systematic.

TGNP highlighted to the assessment team its expertise in lobbying and advocacy and recapped the campaign by TGNP and a broad coalition of feminist organizations to get women's concerns into the land bill. The final outcome was a mixture of gains and losses:

There were four gains:

- ▶ *Institutionalization in the document of the principle that land belongs to both men and women;*
- ▶ *Institutionalization of a 50%-50% ratio of men and women on the committees that decide land allocation (this is a first for the country; previously, the highest goal for female representation was 30% in the political arena);*
- ▶ *Strengthening of their own coalition of over 30 organizations by increasing their ability to influence the government. Given Tanzania's social history, the government is more well-disposed towards them because they do work in coalitions;*
- ▶ *Opening up a debate on the issue of customary law.*

But there were also four losses:

- ▶ *The "land clause" that would have ensured women's land rights was taken out of the land law;*
- ▶ *Implementation of the positive provisions of the law is clouded – "there will still be the other [customary] laws;"*
- ▶ *The President retained the power of final say/trusteeship vis-à-vis decisions on land;*
- ▶ *It took two years to get even this less-than-thorough reform law through Parliament – and a second campaign was necessary to get the bill off the President's desk.*

Still in all, it was a big victory considering women's extremely disadvantaged legal situation with respect to land before the land law was passed. And it is a victory for which USAID can deservedly claim a significant share of the credit.

Since the land law passed in 1999, according to TGNP, there are now two additional groups working on implementation of the revised land laws – TAWLA (the Tanzanian Women Lawyers' Association) and WAT (the Women's Advanced Trust). Their work is cut out for them: implementing even the present bill is likely to be very slow because the legal structure is very slow in general and because gender skills are in short supply.

As a final note, TGNP is a member of EASSI, a REDSO partner (see the EASSI discussion in the REDSO report). Indeed, it considers itself a very strong member – it has multiple donors, owns its own building, employs 9 professionals and 16 staff, has a number of associates and interns, and is currently hiring more people at all levels.

* * *

What conclusions can be drawn from the findings? The good news is that there were so many laudable efforts undertaken by individuals, both within missions and partner organizations, as well as by a few partner organizations. The bad news is that there was little institutionalization of what they did:

- First, there were few if any institutionalized procedures for ensuring that gender would be incorporated in a meaningful and systematic way, making attention to gender more haphazard, based on individuals and/or an organization's practices at a given time..
- Second, there was little if any institutionalized dissemination of lessons learned from the successful instances encountered in the fieldwork.
 - For example, if a given partner organization came up with a good strategy for addressing gender, it might not have been communicated to the mission because it often was not a reporting requirement the SO team imposed on its partners.
 - The team found that some partners that creatively integrated gender in their work did so even when the RFA or SOW covering their activities was silent on gender. But without standardized, institutionalized procedures, even some of these organizations were inconsistent, as were, for example, Kenya's CCGD and ICJ. They addressed gender issues on many levels, even though it wasn't called for in their RFA but did not disaggregate the participants in their activities by sex.

One possible solution is to look to the characteristics of the most powerful knowledge system in our world, science, for ways of making attention to gender more than an episodic, sometimes hit or miss affair in mission programming and projects. Two of the hallmarks of science are that it is (a) cumulative, and (b) self-correcting. This is because of the "scientific method," which establishes procedures that are internationally recognized. USAID has not pursued such a systematic approach to gender and development. As a result, there has been less codification and dissemination of the findings, lessons learned and recommendations of assessments such as this, and little sharing of experiences across SO teams and missions in a region. Incorporation of gender would be more likely with the adoption of:

- **Institutionalized procedures** (e.g., for periodic training at different levels, for required – and monitored – gender disaggregation of all people-level data, for including gender in mission reporting documents, RFAs, RFPs and SOWs), as well as for gender analyses of projects), and
- **Institutionalized information sharing** (e.g., an organized way for specific people in missions to coordinate about gender and disseminate positive – and negative – lessons learned, so that successful programs can be copied and mistakes can be corrected and avoided in the future).

To give a concrete example where institutionalized information sharing could make a big difference, there is the critical issue of income shifting from females to males as an unintended consequence of a development initiative. Specifically, when an activity that used to be done mostly by women who also controlled any income from the activity is made more lucrative because of a development intervention, women may end up still doing most of the work but losing the proceeds of their labor. Three instances emerged in the fieldwork presented above.

- First, the men became the main beneficiaries of the Vvomba improved cassava in Uganda (vs. the previous variety).
- Second, in the Kenya sweet potato study, women complained of men taking over the marketing and income from the improved varieties promoted for their high Vitamin A/beta carotene content.
- Third, also in Kenya, the KARI banana project also resulted in men taking over a previously female source of income.

Indeed, Staudt had studied just such a process in Kenya in the 1980s (Staudt 1987), and had found the men stepping in when an activity became more than marginally profitable. Others have found similar examples elsewhere in Africa and other parts of the world, but have managed to institute mechanisms that sheltered women's income. There are major – and negative – development consequences when this income shift from women to men occurs: The women's "voice and vote" in household decisions generally goes down, they have less control over their own fertility (with usually pro-natalist consequences), and their children's and country's human capital formation suffers. This last consequence is due to the previously noted finding that income under women's control tends to be spent more on children's nutrition, education and healthcare than income under men's control.

In the present study, the team found that none of the mission and partner staffs in any of these three projects seemed aware that this (i.e., women's control over a traditional source of income is jeopardized or lost when a development intervention makes the activity generating that activity more profitable) is a problem that occurs in other projects elsewhere. Nor were they aware of successful ways for overcoming this woman- and development-unfriendly outcome. Consequently, there was no chance for "self-correcting": getting the data needed to prevent an avoidable mistake.

As it happens, the discussion of the Kenya KARI banana project above suggests four questions that constitute a sort of "short gender analysis" for that project. But they may be generalized to any crop or commodity where women's income is put at risk by improvements to the profitability of that product:

- What could have been done so that the control of the [banana crop] would not shift from women to men?
- What other interventions should have accompanied the production technology so that women would retain most of the benefits?
- Should the [banana crop] have been left in its traditional mode of production in order to remain under women's control?
- What can be done now to address the disparity that has already been created?

If information sharing procedures had been set up that linked SO teams within a mission and missions within a region, the commonalities – and possible solutions – could be identified in a timely manner and results shared among the network members.

Another concrete example illustrates a convergent positive finding that emerged in several missions: that the most common reason for undertaking a gender analysis that improved a project was market incentives. There was no vehicle to disseminate this commonality:

- Appro-TEC in Kenya designed its “money maker” pump in a participatory manner with intended users and came up with a very successful product that was comfortably and eagerly used by men, women and children.
- PSI, also in Kenya, carried out what amounted to a gender analysis in order to better market their anti-malaria mosquito net and the chemical treatment that maintained its potency; they also achieved market success.
- Economic growth projects involving microcredit or business training have learned to target women as well as men because the women often turn out to be better clients, thereby enhancing project success.

If this sort of information had been available, along with institutionalized training in incorporating gender/undertaking gender analysis, many more gender analyses likely would have been carried out, to the benefit of the projects, the women and their families, and their country's development.

Below, in Section (6.e, suggestions are made concerning some of the “institutionalized procedures” and “institutionalized information sharing” that could be undertaken in order to introduce cumulative and self-correcting knowledge into USAID's gender efforts in the region.

5.0 LESSONS LEARNED

Five types of lessons emerged that proved to have crosscutting relevance among some or all of the four missions studied. Before presenting them, however, some background is useful.

- a) Some of the reasons that attention to gender in general, and sex-disaggregation of data in particular, proves so uneven may be traceable to USAID's institutional procedures and reporting requirements. Since re-engineering, these have changed in ways that can be seen as marginalizing attention to gender.
- b) This problem is exacerbated by the fact that the Agency has lost so much in the way of budget and personnel in recent years, while having to cope with the new and frequently more burdensome work accompanying re-engineering. There are so few people and so little time and resources that if something is not absolutely required, it is not likely to be done – even if people know that they really “should.”
- c) Most people know that they really “should” take gender into account. In fact, they are committed to the notion that development is more successful and sustainable if women as well as men are equitably included. The problem lies in the details.
- d) The Agency no longer routinely develops and disseminates gender analysis tools, nor does it routinely provide gender training of mission and partner staff. There are whole cohorts of both mission and partner personnel who don't have technical knowledge about gender, even if they have some idea that it could be important for the success of their work. Thus, partners, although well aware of the need to identify gender impact, rarely do so. And if they do, they rarely or never report this information to the USAID mission.
- e) Exceptions to the above occurred in two main types of situations: (1) where individuals in the partner organization realized the importance of disaggregating data by sex and/or gender-differentiated targeting; and (2) where individuals in a given mission pushed partner organizations to, at minimum, disaggregate all people-level indicators by sex.
- f) Instances of paying attention to gender/disaggregating data by gender emerged because of the initiatives of individuals, NOT as a result of the institutionalized procedures of their organizations. And in this study, such individuals proved to be relatively rare.
- g) The assessment team was constantly told by USAID personnel and partners that they wanted and needed training. The level of training requested varied with the individual. But most wanted something more than basic “gender awareness” training (i.e., something that explains the difference between sex and gender). Rather, they wanted more concrete training in “how to” disaggregate data by sex, and/or carry out a gender analysis. Furthermore, especially among partners, people are waiting for hands-on guidance from what they perceive to be gender analysis professionals, not women's advocates.
- h) The cultural context of East Africa, with its male-dominated property systems and its custom of having men – rather than women, as in many parts of Africa – be the main

sellers of crops and animals in the market, acts as a constraint on meaningful gender mainstreaming. In particular, this means that women do not reap full benefits from an economic growth/food security initiative unless deliberate efforts have been made to shelter any benefits so that they do not pass automatically to the husband - even in cases where it was the wives who contributed most of the labor.

- i) Furthermore, it is suggested that sometimes USAID can take lessons from other sources. For example, the Canadians generally devote greater emphasis to gender – and gender disaggregation of data – in their projects. And the health and HIV/AIDS sectors have developed standard indicators that are routinely collected in whatever countries they operate. Perhaps a “baseline list” of indicators could be created for gender that could be collected in all REDSO countries?
- j) Developing – and testing – such a list and then sharing the results would be a concrete first step in introducing the science-derived criteria of “cumulative” and “self-correcting” into USAID’s gender efforts in the region. Systematically acquiring and sharing knowledge about how to successfully incorporate gender into development initiatives in order to enhance project success, gender equity and family well-being could finally elevate gender into the crosscutting issue that several missions’ paper trails proclaimed but didn’t practice.

What overarching “lessons learned” and recommendations can be drawn from the team’s findings in the four missions studied?

In overview, the research has shown that there are five basic elements or tools needed for gender to be taken seriously into account in the policies and programs of USAID and its partners, in a way that promotes enhanced gender equity as well as the success of those policies and programs. In addition, it is possible to draw another set of lessons concerning a possible dual-focus strategy that joins economic empowerment to activities in other sectors.

5.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF INCENTIVES

Incentives have been found to be behind the most thoroughgoing cases of gender analysis and gender targeting. Specifically, market-driven incentives seemed most powerful as these examples indicate:

- The head of one health-focused INGO in Tanzania undertook a marketing analysis (which actually was also a gender analysis) to ascertain how best to target potential buyers of a new product. He learned that their new malaria-combating mosquito net had to be targeted to the husband, since it cost more money than the wife was likely to have under her control, whereas the chemical wash that maintained the potency of the net’s malaria protection was better targeted to the wife, since it was cheap enough for her to buy out of her funds for basic necessities. Applying this knowledge led to increased sales – and greater willingness to undertake more such analyses in order to further improve performance.
- Also in Tanzania, leaders of a women’s CBO working to combat HIV/AIDS in remote western district fishing villages on the island of Zanzibar discovered that their efforts would

be enhanced if they helped the women they were targeting earn more income: the women had claimed that if they were economically dependent on their husbands they could not ask them to practice safe sex when with other partners. So the CBO promoted successful poultry and pottery income-generating ventures. The women gained increased self-confidence as well as leverage and began to push their husbands to use condoms when away on fishing trips. The president of the CBO stated that these women now ask CBO staff to “bring lots of condoms and promotional material” every time they visit.

- In Kenya, OAU/IBAR project managers initially paid no attention to gender; then they noticed that the 5% of animal health workers who were female far outperformed their male counterparts. They concluded that adding more women animal health workers would mean higher cost recovery for veterinary drugs as well as greater project success.
- More generally, most “best practices” microcredit efforts also have discovered that women are better at loan repayment so lending to more of them enhances the value of the organization’s portfolio as well as the success of its overall activities. They are motivated to seek out female clients in order to improve their own returns.
- USAID and partner staff also can be given incentives to deal seriously with gender that can be considered indirectly market-driven. If their track record with respect to mainstreaming gender is one of the criteria for raises and promotions, it will reward people who pay attention to the issue. Given the competing demands on most staff, this will encourage attention to gender. Then if they then find that their programs also perform better as the result of gender disaggregation of data, gender analysis and appropriate gender targeting, they have still another incentive to pay more attention to gender issues.

5.2 THE NEED FOR RESOURCES

Resources are required for partners and USAID to be able to gainfully deal with gender. These include time and staff, as well as budget. And they include knowledge and training, as discussed below.

5.3 REPORTING REQUIREMENTS AND THE “PARTIAL DE-INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF GENDER”

The ADS requires attention to gender in a number of ways but its guidance is extremely unclear. Moreover, there is no evidence that its stringent requirements are being implemented – or monitored. The R4s have page constraints that discourage reporting of gender results. There is no longer a WID Annual Report. There are no longer required gender analyses as part of a Project Paper system. So gender is increasingly being squeezed out, as was found in the document analysis. Washington is the appropriate venue for revamping the ADS system. Also, the R4 is being superseded by a new Annual Report, with unknown impact on gender reporting (although currently there are even stricter page limits for the Annual Report than for the R4).

The PMPs may offer a new shuffle of the deck. They are only now being approved. Where a PMP is still in draft, there is still time for considering gender; where one has recently been

approved – as in the case of REDSO – there is still time before it is fully implemented to revisit gender.¹¹

Requirements to incorporate gender into all RFAs, RFPs and Scopes of Work (SOWs) have not yet been widely heeded within USAID. Doing so could be part of a push toward a set of institutionalized procedures that would guarantee attention to gender in mission activities, as further discussed below.

5.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF RE-EMPHASIZING TRAINING AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

It appears that there has been a lull in recent years in WID Office training and technical assistance so that whole cohorts of USAID personnel and their partners have more good will than knowledge concerning gender and development. This “skills gap” is a big part of the reason that the “partial de-institutionalization of gender” has proceeded as far as it has, and it needs to be filled. Fortunately, everywhere the team went, it was greeted with requests for training and technical assistance by people who wanted to address gender because they believed it would add value to their projects, but didn’t know how to do so. Clearly, there is a need to formulate – and get funding for – a comprehensive program for training all relevant actors among mission, partner and sub-partner staff in appropriate levels of gender awareness, data disaggregation and gender analysis, and for repeating that training at suitable intervals.

5.5 A POSSIBLE STRATEGY PROMOTING ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT FOR WOMEN AS A COMPONENT IN A WIDE VARIETY OF SECTORS

Economic empowerment for women may be the most effective basis for a strategy that will enhance their status and their society/group’s overall gender equity. The 1982 WID Policy Paper stressed it, the literature on gender and development finds it the most powerful factor affecting women’s destiny relative to men, and the most successful sector of recent development aid – “best practices” microfinance programs – frequently achieves it. Enhanced control of economic resources can give a woman greater: (a) self-confidence; (b) say in her own fertility; (c) voice in household decisions; (d) ability to be active in civil society (including in conflict resolution); and (e) ultimately, protection from domestic violence. Since women tend to spend income they control more single-mindedly on children’s nutrition, education and healthcare than male counterparts, promoting their economic empowerment can provide an extra “synergy bonus” of greater human capital formation. It is the only variable that addresses both women’s “strategic needs” and “practical needs” (as described by Molyneux, Moser, and others). Finally, as discussed in the text, it can be integrated with development programs in other sectors, including Health/HIV/AIDS and Democracy and Governance, resulting in greater program success as well as gender equity (see Appendix F).

¹¹ This seems particularly important for REDSO because its current PMP indicators are not people-focused, and hence there is nothing to disaggregate by sex. Even though REDSO’s regional implementation activities seem to focus more on supra-national organizations than human beings, they are the ultimate clients. Thus, it would seem useful to refocus at least some PMP indicators at the people level, and examine any differential impact on men vs. women.

6.0 CONCLUSIONS AND PRELIMINARY RECOMMENDATIONS

There are two sets of conclusions that will be presented prior to the recommendations.

6.1 INCORPORATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF GENDER IN MISSION ACTIVITIES

Overall, inadequate attention to gender was not due to lack of willingness; rather, it was lack of institutionalization, including insufficient incentives, resources (of time, staff and budget), and training in gender knowledge/skills/tools that prevented the mission and its partners/sub-partners from doing a better job.

- Here are two examples of how gender responsibilities are overly concentrated in lone individuals – whose activities are circumscribed by the lack of time, resources or both.
 - In REDSO, an FSN with many years’ experience long has served as a very effective gender advisor. Unfortunately, she is a single individual and REDSO operates in over a score of countries.
 - In Tanzania, there also is a single FSN with many years’ experience who is assigned to monitor gender/WID activities. But this person is not even full-time in the job, as in the case of REDSO. She is a budget analyst and she wears the mission’s “WID hat” only in the time she can spare from her pressing professional responsibilities.
- Moreover, there is no institutionalized system of spreading attention to gender throughout a mission. For example, it would help to have one person on every SO team named the gender specialist, and to facilitate periodic meetings of all SO gender specialists with the REDSO gender specialist and others. This would better enable them to coordinate their work and multiply their individual effectiveness.
- Nor is there any institutionalized and monitored requirement for partners to consider gender in their work, disaggregate their people-level data by gender, and relay all this to the appropriate SO team in their own reporting documents.
- In general, gender analysis skills are very rudimentary for most partner staff and uneven (ranging from superb to virtually non-existent) for USAID staff in the four missions visited. This has resulted in three contrasting situations:
 - Some USAID people (and an occasional partner staff member) have exceptional levels of knowledge about gender but find that it is difficult to maintain attention – and devote resources – to gender in the present climate of “partial de-institutionalization of gender” and resource constraints discussed in this report.
 - Some people believe that they are implementing gender sensitive programs even when they are not.

- Others know that they are deficient in their skills but don't know how to close their skills gap – or, in an attempt to remedy the problem, turn to organizations that may not (yet) have the gender expertise they need.

6.2 ECONOMIC LESSONS LEARNED

- As seen for REDSO in the Vvomba cassava and OAU/IBAR animal health vignettes, and as echoed in the mosquito net and fishing village vignettes for Tanzania, economic incentives tailored to a specific gender situation can enhance the success of development activities. But the ultimate objective of “taking gender into account” is to enhance gender equity. The preceding discussion showed that gender equity, more often than not, rests on a foundation of female economic power. How easy would it be for REDSO and the bilateral missions studied by the team to promote female economic empowerment?
- On the one hand, recent laws are providing women with rights to land and inheritance. On the other hand, customary law and practices in the generally patrilineal and patrilocal societies of East Africa can make women's ability to control income and assets much more precarious in reality than in recent national law. In Tanzania, for example, some 80% of the ethnic groups are patrilineal and patrilocal and also have patrilineal inheritance practices that prevent the overwhelming majority of women from gaining control of land, despite their status as the principal cultivators, especially of food crops. The figures are similar in the other countries where the research took place.
- This structural disadvantage can be overcome, however, as has been shown by the success of the handful of women village animal health workers who got income from dispensing veterinary drugs and outperformed their male counterparts, setting exemplary records for honesty and fairness in distribution and thereby improving the project's success. This provided an eye-opening experience for the management of the REDSO-assisted OAU/IBAR animal health project. It is important to underline that this occurred in what was described to the team as one of the world's most patriarchal regions (Northern Kenya and adjacent Southern Somalia). As such, it offers a telling example to missions and partners operating in difficult, but far less gender-stratified, settings.
- Most theories of gender stratification and gender and development emphasize economic power and its consequences. And these consequences (discussed above and in Appendix F) might also increase success not only in Economic Growth/Food Security but in other sectors as well.
- Therefore, from the standpoint of gender equity, it seems to make sense to make economic empowerment a crosscutting approach in promoting other sector SOs. This would mean linkages that would hook up people who were clients of, say, HIV/AIDS programs with, say, locally available microfinance programs. Or it could create tandem efforts, with people already involved in a microfinance program also receiving training in human/women's rights/advocacy, or vice versa.
- Adding a livelihood focus to non-Economic Growth efforts could be another example where combining two types of aid results in a “synergy bonus,” where the whole is more than the

sum of the two parts. For women, adding a livelihood focus to other SO activities might make an even more dramatic difference, since it would directly attack the lack of resources and power that disadvantages females in these other sectors in the first place.

- One additional finding that bears mentioning here is the frequent conflation of “gender” with “women.” Most people the team interviewed seemed unaware that a gender analysis could uncover difficulties in a development program that were due to being gender-blind to men’s interests, especially their economic interests (as discussed in Appendix G).

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

This report concludes with preliminary recommendations that might be considered by participants at the planned gender workshop as they carry out their task to design a forward-looking strategy for enhancing and institutionalizing attention to gender in mission efforts throughout East Africa and beyond. First, recommendations will be presented about the five common elements or tools that permit gender to be taken into account in a consistent manner. Then, the criteria of “cumulative” and “self-corrective” that characterize science and the scientific method will be invoked and recommendations will be presented about how to institutionalize both procedures and information sharing vis-à-vis gender.

A. INCENTIVES

Incentives should be formulated that encourage both USAID and partner staff to take gender into account. These incentives should include making their performance vis-à-vis gender one of the criteria in their annual performance evaluations (as urged by Moser 1997 and practiced in Canadian CIDA and IDRC).

B. RESOURCES

Appropriate attention to gender requires resources, both physical (e.g., time, staff) and financial. Here are some examples of the sorts of resources that need to be provided:

- Time should be provided for the mission “WID Officer” to be able to track gender performance in all SOs;
- Time should be programmed for one person per SO team to don the “gender hat” for that SO;
- Partners should explore using the Monitoring & Evaluation person/team for this role and giving them the resources (as well as rewards in merit raise consideration) for doing so;
- All of these people – the mission WID Officer, the mission gender monitor/specialist for each SO and the partner gender monitors – should meet periodically both to share lessons learned and to receive incentives (from certificates on up) for developing the most innovative ways of mainstreaming and tracking gender within their sectors.

C. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

Dialogue with Washington should be promoted on those aspects of reporting that are in its bailiwick; meanwhile, the new PMPs and Annual Reports should be reviewed for ways of

incorporating gender (also see below). But as a first step – and one that is within a mission’s “manageable interests” – disaggregating all people-level data by gender should be not only required (as it already is in the ADS and in a Congressional mandate) but also institutionalized and monitored so that it does, indeed, take place. After all, without such data there is no way to make a case for “the gender variable.” As a second step, monitoring the USAID requirement that gender be included in all RFAs and SOWs would make a major contribution toward making information about gender cumulative and, in the best circumstances, self-correcting.

D. TRAINING AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

A multi-level gender training and technical assistance program should be launched that encompasses both USAID and its partners and even sub-partners (the latter via Training of Trainer (TOT) models). Training should be provided in two distinct levels. The **lower level** should include (a) basic gender awareness and (b) basic rationale and procedures for disaggregating data by gender. This lower level training should be provided by local consultants, after their expertise has been vetted by a higher-level gender expert. The **upper level** should consist of (c) gender analysis specifically geared to the particular characteristics and problems of a given development sector, and (d) gender mainstreaming. At least initially, it is recommended that gender experts who provide (c) and (d) should be high-level people brought in from outside the mission on a Scope of Work that also includes assessing the competence of the local consultants being considered for the lower level training. The gender experts for the upper level training may be either from the WID Office or an outside consultant/consulting organization. Since all these levels of training must be repeated periodically, funds should be sought to bring local trainers up to speed, so that training is institutionalized.

E. A POSSIBLE STRATEGY THAT WOULD PROMOTE ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT FOR WOMEN AS A COMPONENT IN A WIDE VARIETY OF SECTORS

There should be emphasis on assistance that enhances women’s economic empowerment. And such assistance should not be confined to Economic Growth/Food Security initiatives – although these may be the ideal place to start. Instead, in every relevant sector, a “livelihood component” should be formulated, or a link established to an existing program that increases income under women’s control. This should give women more clout in influencing male condom use; more say in their own fertility, and more of a foundation for civic activism and conflict resolution, thereby enhancing the success of such non-economic programs.

This section next presents five supplemental recommendations that provide further detail about issues mentioned above:

F. REVISITING THE PMP TO BUILD IN ATTENTION TO GENDER

Where PMPs have not yet been approved, it is not too late to undertake an exercise to incorporate gender. Where PMPs have been approved but not yet fully implemented, there is still time to reassess the extent to which this new USAID “reporting for results” vehicle promotes or inhibits attention to gender – and then take appropriate corrective action. This can be done in two ways: (a) directly, by formulating more people-level indicators and disaggregating them by sex, and (b) as part of a supplemental rapid appraisal of how a given

mission's initiatives are affecting women vs. men (see below). The possible insertion of gender-disaggregated people-level indicators should be considered for all of a mission's SOs and their IRs and sub-IRs.

G. A GENDER COMMITTEE

For the purpose of the PMP exercise, it is suggested that a gender committee be appointed in each mission, chaired by the gender advisor/"WID Officer" and containing one member from each SO team. The gender committee, in conjunction with the REDSO gender specialist, also could tackle emergent issues, such as just how missions are to comply with the October 2001 directive that Scopes of Work should include attention to gender and gender disaggregation of data. Finally, the gender committee could, twice a year, function as an oversight group to make sure that reporting by both the mission and its partners includes sex-disaggregated data.

H. ADDING PERIODIC RAPID APPRAISALS TO QUANTITATIVE INDICATORS MEASUREMENT IN ORDER TO BETTER MEASURE RESULTS

Initially, this rapid appraisal should be a single study, undertaken with technical assistance (hopefully funded by the new WID Office IQCs). But if it proves useful in illuminating gaps in program coverage or worrisome problems concerning insufficient gender equity, technical assistance should be sought to add supplementary rapid appraisals to a mission's on-going measurement of the results of its efforts.

It bears mentioning that REDSO itself is uniquely well-situated to create vertical linkages between the macro-level policies and programs in which it specializes and the micro-level people impact of those policies and programs, disaggregated by sex. Operationalizing this would require adding a rapid appraisal component to REDSO's monitoring and evaluation activities, as well as being rigorous about disaggregating all quantitative people-level indicators by sex. This would enable REDSO to go up as well as down the chain between its level of operation and the level of grass roots client impact.

I. FUNDING ALL THESE TENTATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

There should be some brainstorming on how to get resource assistance from Washington to fund appropriate levels of attention to gender. This initially should take place in the forward-looking workshop and then extended to the missions participating in that workshop.

J. PROMOTING PIVA GENDER SCORES FOR MISSION PARTNERS

Wherever a mission undertakes institutional strengthening activities on behalf of its partners, these can be assessed by PIVA scores that rank the organization's development from nascent to mature (REDSO already uses PIVA scores for its institutional development efforts). It is recommended that any mission using the PIVA approach also calculate "PIVA gender scores" that would rank each partner organization on a scale ranging from gender-blind to gender-mainstreamed.

Finally, recommendations are presented that are aimed at institutionalizing attention to gender in both procedures and dissemination/information sharing. The ultimate goals here are to make

procedures and information concerning gender, including what works and what doesn't, more "cumulative" and "self-correcting."

K. INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PROCEDURES

The duties for the proposed gender committee cited above may be considered a first step. In order to establish and institutionalize procedures, an **expanded gender committee** should be formed. This committee should be comprised of the mission gender specialist, a gender representative from each SO team and selected partner representatives. The expanded gender committee should set up and test procedures to ensure that:

- Each SO team formally requests each partner to provide all people-level data in sex-disaggregated form in reports to the mission;
- Both lower level and upper level training in gender (described above) are made available on a regular basis to both mission and partner/sub-partner staff;
- Not just Scopes of Work (SOWs), but also RFAs, RFPs and similar solicitations explicitly require attention to gender and disaggregation of people-level data by sex;
- Formal mission reporting documents are vetted to prevent the sort of "squeezing out" process found in the present assessment;
- Guidelines for a "short gender analysis" are established for each SO team. Thus, an SO team working in agriculture could, for example, adopt the criteria discussed above and share them with relevant partners if any of their activities might affect women's control of income

L. INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF INFORMATION SHARING

Without systematic sharing of information, there is no possibility to accumulate knowledge and prevent the repetition of unnecessary mistakes. The most logical place to start the information sharing is in the **expanded gender committee** recommended above. But the mission level is not enough for effective information sharing:

- It is further recommended that there be a network linking together gender committees in each mission in the region with each other, with the REDSO regional gender specialist and, at least occasionally, with WID/Washington.
- Additionally, the gender representatives on SO teams in the same sector also should be incorporated into an information-sharing network.

Fortunately, one of the other products of the team's assessment included the creation of an electronic database and bibliography, so the vehicle already exists for posting reports and other relevant documents dealing with gender produced by various missions in the region.

- Then, if the expanded gender committees are formed, it is recommended that the USAID members of the committee participate in a special Website, chat room, or other institutionalized forum for sharing information in an interactive manner. Setting up such a site is within the technical expertise of the REDSO ICT (Information and Computer Technology) staff.

* * *

In conclusion, the team stresses that readers should consider these recommendations as preliminary. The formulation of more definitive recommendations should be one of the main outputs of the upcoming forward-looking gender workshop. That workshop is the best venue for taking the findings, lessons learned and recommendations of the present research and using them as a foundation. The attendees can then build on this platform. Their hoped-for construct is a coherent gender strategy that will help to re-institutionalize and, indeed, intensify, attention to gender in all the activities, policies and reporting requirements of USAID and its partners in the region. And, if the final recommendations concerning the institutionalization of procedures and information sharing networks are adopted by workshop participants, the stage will be set for creating not only a better gender strategy but also a more systematic and effective way of taking gender into account. With the institutionalization of procedures and information dissemination and sharing, missions and partners in the region can accumulate knowledge and correct wrong or sub-optimal practices and reduce the likelihood that development initiatives will have unintended negative consequences that undermine rather than enhance the relative position of women. This will fall far short of turning “gender and development” into a science. But adopting these cornerstones of the scientific method should make “gender and development” more likely to promote both gender equity and development itself.

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED

REDSO/ESA Mission-related Interviews

| Sector | Country | Organization | Contact | | Position |
|--------------|---------|--------------|------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| ----- | Kenya | USAID | Steven G. | Wisecarver | Regional Director |
| ----- | Kenya | USAID | Gerald A. | Cashion | Deputy Regional Director |
| ----- | Kenya | USAID | Shirley | Erves | Monitoring and Evaluation |
| DG | Kenya | USAID | Ned | Greeley | Leader Reg. Conflict Prevention Team |
| DG | Kenya | USAID | Leonora | Foley | Democracy Fellow |
| DG | Kenya | USAID | Njeri | Karuru | Senior Reg. Conflict Prevention Advisor |
| DG | Kenya | USAID | Steven | Smith | Senior Reg. Conflict Prevention Advisor |
| DG | Kenya | USAID | John | Munuve | Sen. Adv. - Conflict Prevention, Mitigation and Resolution |
| DG/EG | Kenya | USAID | Charles Darwin | Ward | HASP-Project Manager |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Wanjiku | Muhato | Regional Advisor on Gender Issues |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Walter I. | Knausenberger | Senior Regional Environmental Officer |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Ephantus K. | Wahome | Regional Environmental Officer |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Kitiabi | Kiti | Regional Trade Program Specialist/Advisor |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Diana | Putman | Office Director - Food Security |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Mulinge | Mukumbu | Senior Regional Agriculture Economist |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Erik | Johnson | Trade Economist |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Hudson | Masambu | Program Specialist-Agriculture |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Paul-Albert | Emoungu | ISGM Project Manager |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Hellen | Oluoch | Project Assistant |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Dan | Evans | Natural Resources Management Advisor - Food Security Office |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Greg | Howell | Regional Private Sector Advisor |
| Health | Kenya | USAID | Leslie | Perry | Office Director-PHN |
| Library | Kenya | USAID | Patricia | Wanzalla | Librarian/Web Developer |
| Org. Develop | Kenya | USAID | Carolyn | Jefferson | Regional Organizational Development Advisor |
| Technology | Kenya | USAID | Esther | Muchiri | ICT Specialist/Food Security |
| Technology | Kenya | USAID | Francis | Kituto | ICT Specialist |
| Technology | Kenya | USAID | Josphat | Wachira | ICT Specialist |
| ----- | Uganda | USAID | Anne | Fleuret | Performance Monitoring Specialist |
| | | | | | |
| EG | Kenya | ASARECA/CIP | Berhane | Kiflewahid | Coordinator |
| EG | Kenya | Bean Project | Group Interview with Farmers | Veronica | Farm Owner |

| Sector | Country | Organization | Contact | | Position |
|--------|---------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| EG | Kenya | KARI | Macharia | Gethi | Director |
| EG | Kenya | KARI | John | Muthamia | Senior Research Scientist |
| EG | Kenya | OAU/IBAR | Habiba | Sh. Hassan Hamud | DVM, MSC Vet. Field Officer |
| EG | Kenya | OAU/IBAR | Tim | Leyland | Advisor, CBAH |
| DG/EG | Kenya | PACT | Irene | Gathinji | CORE Program Deputy Director |
| DG/EG | Kenya | PACT | Bill | Polidoro | Country Director |
| DG/EG | Kenya | PACT | Chris | Ngovi | Finance and Administration Manager |
| DG/EG | Kenya | PACT | Allan | Ochuol | Monitoring & Evaluation Specialist |
| DG/EG | Kenya | PACT | Joash | Agukoh | Intern - Computer Department |
| DG/EG | Kenya | PACT | Esther | Leipah | Secretary |
| DG/EG | Kenya | WASDA | Capt Omar F. | Husseinali | Chairman |
| EG | Uganda | CIP | Regina | Kapinga | Sweetpotato breeder, Sub-Saharan Africa Region |
| EG | Uganda | ECAPAPA | Isaac | Minde | Acting Head, ASARECA; Coordinator, ECAPAPA |
| EG | Uganda | IITA | James B.A. | Whyte | Research Team Leader for ESA; Coord. E. Afr. Root Crop Res. Network |
| EG | Uganda | NAARI | F.N. | Opio | Director of Research |
| EG | Uganda | NAARI | Goreti N. | Ssemakula | Cassava Breeder |
| EG | Uganda | PRAPACE/CIP | James | Nsumba | Asst. Coordinator |
| EG | Uganda | SPEED (USAID/Uganda) | Ralph | Chaffee | Enterprise Development Advisor |
| EG | Uganda | Vvomba Village Cassava Group | 2 focus groups, 10 women, 3 men | | |
| DG | Uganda | EASSI | Maude | Mugisha | Coordinator |
| DG | Uganda | EASSI | Elizabeth | Eilor | Program Officer, Research & Documentation |
| DG | Uganda | EASSI | Jane Wanjiku | Gitau | Program Officer, Communication & Networking |
| Health | Uganda | Regl. Center for Quality of Health Care | Robert | Mwadime | Nutrition & Child Survival Advisor/ Academy for Educational Development |
| Health | Uganda | Regl. Center for Quality of Health Care | Alice | Mutungi | Maternal & Neonatal Health Advisor |
| Health | Uganda | Regl. Center for Quality of Health Care | Chilunga | Putu | Malaria Advisor |
| ----- | Uganda | Makerere Univ., Dept. of Women & Gender Studies | Consolata | Kabonesa | Acting Head of Dept. |
| ----- | Uganda | Centenary Rural Development Bank, Ltd. | James | MacDade | Banking Advisor - Credit |

Kenya Mission-related Interviews

| Sector | Country | Organization | Contact | | Position |
|----------------|---------|---------------------------------------------|----------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ----- | Kenya | USAID | Kiert | Toh | Director |
| ----- | Kenya | USAID | Mike | Sarhan | Deputy Director |
| Program Office | Kenya | USAID | Nimo | Ali | Program Officer |
| DG | Kenya | USAID | Wachira | Maina | Gender and Governance Advisor |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Meg | Brown | Office Chief |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | James | Kigathi | Small Holder Organizations Advisor |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Julius | Kilungo | Program Specialist |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | George | Mugo | Title II Program Manager |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Maria | Mullei | Program Specialist |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Pharesh | Ratego | Monitoring and Evaluation Officer |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Zach | Ratemo | Small Business Advisor |
| EG | Kenya | USAID | Beatrice | Wamalwa | Program Assistant |
| Health | Kenya | USAID | Jerusha | Karuthiru | Project Management Assistant |
| | | | | | |
| DG | Kenya | CCGD | Jason | Oyugi | Program Officer |
| DG | Kenya | ICJ | Kagwiria | Mbogori | Executive Director |
| DG | Kenya | ICJ | Peter | Wendoh | Program Assistant |
| DG | Kenya | ICJ | Grace W. | Maingi | Intern, Judiciary Program |
| EG | Kenya | Appro-TEC | John K. | Kihia | Head of Monitoring and Reporting |
| EG | Kenya | Appro-TEC | Solomon | Mwangi | Operations Director |
| EG | Kenya | Appro-TEC | Makena | Wabwoba | Marketing and Promotion Officer |
| EG | Kenya | KARI | Lillian | Kimani | Asst. Director Human Resources |
| EG | Kenya | KARI | Jane | Ngugi | Gender Coordinator |
| EG | Kenya | KARI | Ephrain | Mukisira | Deputy Director for Research and Technology |
| EG | Kenya | KARI | Andrew | Mailu | ADSP Coordinator |
| EG | Kenya | KARI | Jayne | Gathii | FSA Manager |
| EG | Kenya | KARI | Zilpher | Nyakwara | Social Economist |
| EG | Kenya | KARI | Peterson | Mwangi | Social Economist |
| EG | Kenya | KARI | Wafula | Wasike | Horticulturalist |
| EG | Kenya | KARI | Faith | Nguthi | Horticulturalist |
| EG | Kenya | KARI | SJN | Muriuki | Entomologist |
| EG | Kenya | K-REP | Aleke | Dondo | Managing Director |
| Health | Kenya | FHI | John | McWilliam | Country Director |
| Health | Kenya | PSI | David | Walker | Country Representative |
| Health | Kenya | PSI | Veronica | Musembi | Deputy Director/Sales Manager |
| Health | Kenya | Strengthening STD/HIV/AIDS Control in Kenya | Aine | Costigan | Co-Director Strengthening HIV/AIDS; Co-Director Gender Task Force |

| Sector | Country | Organization | Contact | | Position |
|--------|---------|--------------------|-------------|----------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Health | Kenya | SWAK | George | Gathenya | Program Officer, Men/HIV/AIDS |
| Health | Kenya | SWAK | Ludfine | Opudo | Co-coordinator |
| Health | Kenya | The Policy Project | Angeline Y. | Siparo | Country Rep./ Director HIV/AIDS and FP/RH Program |

Rwanda Mission-related Interviews

| Sector | Country | Organization | Contact | | Position |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| ----- | Rwanda | USAID | Joan | LaRosa | Program Officer/Acting Director |
| ----- | Rwanda | USAID | Pierre | St. Hilaire | Resident Legal Advisor to Rwanda |
| ----- | Rwanda | USAID | Angelina | Allen-Mpyisi | GHAI Coordinator/Gender Officer |
| DG | Rwanda | USAID | Pierre | Munyura | Governance Specialist |
| DG | Rwanda | USAID | Kimberly | Pease | Program Support Officer |
| DG | Rwanda | USAID | Serge | Rwamasirabo | Food Security Advisor |
| Health | Rwanda | USAID | Beth | Drabant | S.O. Team |
| | | | | | |
| EG | Rwanda | CARE | Michelle | Carter | Assistant Country Director |
| EG | Rwanda | CARE | Ephron | | Monitoring and Evaluation Officer |
| EG | Rwanda | CARE | Afurika | Juvenal | Food and Economic Security Program Coordinator |
| EG | Rwanda | Fisheries Project | Group Interview | | Group Members |
| EG | Rwanda | IRC | Lizanne | McBride | Country Director |
| EG | Rwanda | Shelter Project | Group Interview | | Home Owners |
| EG | Rwanda | WIT | Buddy | Shanks | Interim Director |
| EG | Rwanda | WIT | Julie | Mwamwiza | Assistant Coordinator |
| DG | Rwanda | HAGURUKA | Jean Flora | Kayitesi | Lawyer in charge of Paralegals |
| DG | Rwanda | HAGURUKA | Rose | Mukantabana | National Executive Secretary |
| DG | Rwanda | IRC | Jean Claude | Desmarais | Chief Technical Advisor, Community Development Program |
| DG | Rwanda | WIT | Josephine | Murungi | Vice Mayor for Gasabo |
| DG | Rwanda | WIT | Constance | Uwimana | MIGEPROFE Rep for Gasabo Dist. |
| Health | Rwanda | Impact/FHI | Deborah | Murray | Resident Advisor |
| Health | Rwanda | World Relief | Deborah | Dortzbach | International Director |
| Health | Rwanda | World Relief | Peter | Greer | Managing Director Micro-Finance Project |
| Health | Rwanda | World Relief | Emmanuel | Ngoga | HIV/AIDS Program Manager |
| Special/ Education | Rwanda | FAWE | Anne | Gahongayire | Coordinator |
| Special/ Education | Rwanda | FAWE | Jane | Mutoni | Community Mobilizer |
| Special/ Education | Rwanda | FAWE | Joseph | Rwagatare | Head Master |

Tanzania Mission-related Interviews

| Sector | Country | Organization | Contact | | Position |
|--------|----------|--------------|-----------------|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ----- | Tanzania | USAID | Hedwiga | Mbuya | Program Specialist/WID Officer |
| ----- | Tanzania | USAID | Pat | Rader | Program Officer |
| EG | Tanzania | USAID | Onesmo | Shuma | Private Sector Advisor |
| Health | Tanzania | USAID | Vicky | Chuwa | Project Mgmt. Specialist |
| Health | Tanzania | USAID | Amy | Cunningham | Technical Advisor |
| Health | Tanzania | USAID | Janis | Timberlake | NGO/Private Sector Health Advisor |
| DG | Tanzania | USAID | Sean | Hall | Democracy and Governance Officer |
| | | | | | |
| Health | Tanzania | Africare | Vanessa | Williams | Resident Representative |
| Health | Tanzania | Africare | Asha | Aboud | Project Coordinator, NGO Cluster, Zanzibar HIV/AIDS Prev. & Control |
| Health | Tanzania | Africare | Juma Yusuf | Khamis | Tutor/Islamic College |
| Health | Tanzania | Africare | Mbareuko | Khamis | ZAPHA |
| Health | Tanzania | Africare | Asha | Ahmed | Coordinator, Catalyst Org. for Women's Progress in Zanzibar |
| Health | Tanzania | Africare | Haji Setti | Pendai | Sheha (Political Leader) |
| Health | Tanzania | Africare | Kombo Denge | Kitiba | UMAWA - Retired Military Association |
| Health | Tanzania | Africare | Mwanjaha Maulid | Khamis | ZAWCO (Women and Health NGO) |
| Health | Tanzania | Africare | Hamid Kali | Makame | Cashier/Comm. of Islamic Propagation |
| EG | Tanzania | EDC | Eustace J. | Mukayu | Managing Director |
| EG | Tanzania | EDC | Theodor | Kaijanante | Training Specialist |
| EG | Tanzania | SATF | Alex | Mkindi | Dep. Managing Director, FEDA |
| DG | Tanzania | PACT | Sara | Steinmetz | Acting Country Representative |
| DG | Tanzania | TANGO | Mary | Mwingira | Executive Director |
| DG | Tanzania | TANGO | Marie | Shaba | Chairperson |
| DG | Tanzania | TGNP | Mary | Rusimbi | Project Coordinator for Activism, Lobbying and Advocacy |
| DG | Tanzania | TGNP | Miranda | Johnson | Program Officer |
| Health | Tanzania | AMREF | Annefrida | Kisesa | Program Manager, Main Officer |
| Health | Tanzania | AMREF | Michael D. | Machaku | ASRH-Youth Center Coordinator |
| Health | Tanzania | AMREF | Agnes | Ndyetabula | Lab Tech/ VCT Counselor, Main Office |
| Health | Tanzania | AMREF | Gloria | Nchopa | Lab Tech/ VCT Counselor, Youth Cent. |
| Health | Tanzania | AMREF | Anatary K.F. | Didi | VCT Counselor/Site Mgr., Main Office |
| Health | Tanzania | AMREF | Adolf | Mrema | VCT Counselor, Main Office |
| Health | Tanzania | AMREF | Farida | Mgomi | VCT Counselor, Youth Center |
| Health | Tanzania | AMREF | Kassimu | Komungoma | VCT Counselor, Youth Center |
| Health | Tanzania | AMREF | Maximilian B. | Maiga | Receptionist, Main Office |
| Health | Tanzania | AMREF | Rozalia | Msalu | Receptionist, Youth Center |
| Health | Tanzania | CARE | Fulgence | Binagwa | Chief of Party, VSHP |

| Sector | Country | Organization | Contact | | Position |
|--------|----------|----------------|-------------------|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Health | Tanzania | CARE | Joyce | Tesha | Regional Program Officer, VSHP |
| Health | Tanzania | CARE | Michelle | Kouletio | Deputy Team Leader and Technical Coordinator-VSHP |
| Health | Tanzania | CARE | Henry | Kuria | Grants Manager |
| Health | Tanzania | PSI | Bradford | Lucas | Executive Director |
| ----- | Tanzania | Zanzibar Govt. | Suleiman-Mohammed | El-Abry | Ex-director, Manpower and Administration - President's Office |

APPENDIX B

TASK ORDER/STATEMENT OF WORK

I. OVERVIEW

After nearly 25 years of USAID developmental interventions in the ESA region, there is more positive evidence that USAID interventions overall have improved the lives of ordinary people (CDIE: USAID Performance Monitoring and Evaluation News. July 1999). There is, however, a lack of hard evidence with which to determine the progress and advancement in women's status as the result of these USAID interventions. It is assumed that this difficulty has been occasioned by the lack of harmonized, coherent and consistent gender specific and gender-disaggregated data from which interventions could be measured. Nevertheless, and probably as the result of the intense pressure emanating from international fora on women's equality and development, many international development organizations and NGOs continue to emphasize the need to address gender as a developmental variable while simultaneously continuing to base their development assumptions on the general situation of women in Africa identified over twenty years ago. The general practice has been to focus on women-specific activities and address these through a poverty lens, thus leading to an emphasis on poverty alleviation strategies for women, mainly at the micro-level using a basic needs approach, with few sustainable development concepts to support these.

An analysis of current trends of gender relations and their underlying structures must be the starting point for interventions aimed at achieving sustainable models of development in east and southern Africa. Of critical importance is the need to address gender issues from a more proactive and facilitative platform rather than from a passive approach. The development of a regional perspective on gender, therefore, calls for more involved liaison within REDSO/ESA and amongst USAID Missions in the region, to develop joint planning and programming across the identified Strategic Objectives and build consensus on appropriate regional approaches.

II. BACKGROUND

Over the last ten years, gender has evolved to become one of the essential crosscutting development issues within USAID (alongside environment, conflict and HIV/AIDS). This has, therefore, raised questions about the effectiveness of USAID approaches towards women and identified a need to estimate the impact of these WID/gender interventions. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the integration of WID into Mission programs was assessed through the WID Portfolio Reviews with the objective of enabling USAID Missions to design WID Action Plans. A common approach to these reviews was to focus merely on identifying where women were mentioned, and where possible, recommend where else they could be inserted. Little gender analysis was undertaken, largely because its value wasn't well understood, it was considered to be of marginal importance, but also partly, because there were few mechanisms to allow recommendations to be incorporated into a restatement of the objectives of the project.

USAID has financed a variety of Women In Development activities in Eastern and Southern Africa, through bilateral and regional programs. These activities have utilized different methods of gender-based programming, including activities focused specifically on women or sectors where women

are perceived as playing a critical role such as in the microenterprise sector. With the onset of re-engineering of USAID, gender disaggregation of monitoring and evaluation data has gained prominence while "mainstreaming" of gender activities into larger programs is becoming a more common theme within the current debate on institutionalizing WID. To date, an impact assessment of these different methods has not been made, nor has USAID seriously examined the actual impact of its programs on between the women and men of east and southern African or the program impact of the relationships between them.

The challenge facing USAID Missions is to accurately and clearly articulate program results through a gender perspective. While Missions are required to have a Performance Monitoring Plan, very few have a gender specific strategy to assess performance, and/or impact, by gender. A major barrier has been the lack of gender statistics. USAID missions urgently need specific and consistent information flows on the situation of women and men in areas where there is a programmatic focus. While some information has been gathered by host-countries through the requirements of the Beijing Platforms for Action, much of this is not in a readily accessible format to USAID. All activities need gender-disaggregated information to fulfil their planning functions. And, as time goes by, USAID needs to develop the ability to continuously measure whether its policies and programs are succeeding in addressing gender inequalities.

PURPOSE

The objective is to determine the level of impact of USAID programs in selected sectors with specific attention paid to the numerous Women In Development (WID) activities in eastern Africa, financed by USAID over the last 5 - 10 years through bilateral and regional programs. [It is assumed that further back than ten years will require too great a level of effort for this assessment to be feasible]. This regional assessment on gender will provide the rationale and primary basis for developing a regional approach to gender within the region by:

i) providing an opportunity to indicate the availability of information on gender to missions in the ESA region. While it is well understood that there will be gaps, it is also clear that there is a lot of information that is not being fully utilized, or that which has not been analyzed; (ii) describe the various approaches to gender taken by participating missions; (iii) explain the relevance for enhanced networking, share lessons learned and best-practices from up-to 10 years of the application of WID in the region; (iv) identify where USAID has the comparative advantage on addressing gender concerns over other donors and partners; and, (v) assist in identifying potential avenues for future USAID interventions on WID within the region.

While the process may be adjusted based on feedback from the bilateral missions, AFR Bureau and G/WID, REDSO envisages that an IQC firm specializing in evaluations will be hired to undertake a six-month impact assessment process to be managed by the regional mission at REDSO/ESA.

III. EXPECTED PERFORMANCE AND OUTCOMES

Impact assessment is often difficult because causality is difficult to determine, in addition to being costly and time-consuming. However, managers need to know the effects of project activities on the intended beneficiaries during implementation. The primary objective of this regional gender

impact assessment is operational. The purpose is to identify and address both strengths and deficiencies so as to enhance future impact. As a result, it is anticipated that this report will enable missions to improve the levels of utilization of what is available, and to make proposals on how the information base can be further expanded and improved. This assessment should thus ultimately lead to the improvement of gender specific data available to Missions in the region. A second objective is to use the assessment as a learning tool as well as a means to improve program performance on gender issues and in enhancing the capacity to demonstrate accountability.

At the end of the six-month assessment process, this activity will achieve four specific results that will include:

- (i) a report on the regional gender impact of USAID supported activities;
- (ii) an inventory of currently collected data (including type of data, that is, qualitative, quantitative, availability reliability, utility, etc.);
- (iii) a draft regional database on gender as a means for tracking activities that have a WID/gender perspective or impact in the region; and,
- (iv) USAID Missions in ESA region, AFR Bureau and G/WID will participate in a workshop leading to the defining collaborative regional approaches to gender considerations based on the results of the Gender Impact Assessment.

The contractor will face the challenge of making the disparate information received from the various activities and approaches coherent and meaningful. To enable REDSO/ESA and participating Missions achieve this the contractor shall undertake several inter-related activities. First, the contractor will undertake interviews of WID officers, Monitoring and Evaluation experts, Program Officers and Africa Bureau personnel with the objective of defining desirable approaches, set minimum standards, and refine the broad scope of the terms of reference for the evaluators. Second, the evaluators will undertake an assessment of selected programs that are gender-based, gender-related or programs with a gender component in at least 4 missions within the region over the last 5 - 10 years and identify the means by which appropriate and cost-effective data may be gathered. Third, the contractor will pull together all available data for creating a mission-specific/sector-specific database. Fourth, the contractor will design, convene and facilitate over a workshop to include Program officers, WID Officers, Monitoring and Evaluation experts drawn from Missions within the region, and also include G/WID and Africa Bureau personnel, to review the results and make recommendations leading to the development of regional approaches to gender considerations.

IV. SPECIFIC TASKS/STATEMENT OF WORK

The Contractor will carry out this Assessment by undertaking four distinct steps:

STEP 1: ACTIVITY DESIGN AND WORKPLAN

The Contractor will develop a detailed Workplan to be approved by REDSO/ESA in which the implementation and timing of the Activity Management process will be detailed. The Contractor will also detail the methodology to be used in implementing each step of this activity.

Estimated Timing: 10 days.

Location: Home-base.

STEP 2: REGIONAL GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT

The Contractor will undertake a regional gender impact assessment in **at least 4 development Missions in the east Africa region**. Focusing on agreed upon countries in the ESA region, the Contractor will:

- i) Assess why unexpected progress on gender impact, either positive or negative, is occurring;
- ii) Determine whether conditions for sustainability exist;
- iii) Re-examine and/or test the validity of hypothesis and assumptions embedded in strategic objectives and results frameworks;
- iv) Determine whether the needs of intended customers are being served;
- v) Identify, probe, and understand positive and negative unintended impacts of assistance programs and;
- vi) Distill lessons learned, which may be useful elsewhere in the region and the Agency.

The Contractor shall work from the field missions and Washington to:

- i) Provide technical expertise to carry out background research and desk studies identified by USAID/RED SO/ESA and other operating units participating in the assessment;
- ii) Perform activity, program, and results level gender impact assessment and related performance monitoring at Mission and Regional level; and
- iii) Develop reports and disseminate findings from the impact assessment.

The contractor will also address the following strategic questions: What is the existing WID/gender portfolio funded by USAID in the ESA region (incorporating detailed information on WID/gender strategic objectives, results, components and activities)? What are the regional trends that should influence the allocation of resources? How does the existing portfolio fit in with AFR/B and Agency priorities and with G/WID priorities? Are there opportunities to optimize resources regionally? The objective of which will be to produce a prioritized list of issues and concerns that are considered critical to addressing gender considerations within the country and across the region.

Estimated Timing: 45days.

Location: East Africa -- One round trip through Missions (Washington/east Africa)

STEP 3: DEVELOP A REGIONAL USAID GENDER INFORMATION SYSTEM

Utilizing the country and regional specific data collected during the regional gender assessment the Contractor will develop a regional gender information system that USAID Missions can build upon. Essentially a database, this system will contain available and illustrative data, trends and analytical tables indicating how it will be organized and managed. The Contractor will prepare a separate report indicating the consistency of data,

lessons learned from other identified gender databases, such as the ENI Gender database, etc. The Contractor will also make recommendations to REDSO on where this database should be housed, future management and analytical processes required.

Estimated Timing: 20 days

Location: To be determined on basis of the proposal.

STEP 4: DISSEMINATION WORKSHOP

The objective of the regional workshop/meeting is to bring together lead UASID persons responsible for implementing gender considerations in the bilateral Missions to:

- a) Present and disseminate the results of the Regional Gender Impact Assessment;
- b) Share other information, lessons learned and best-practices for dealing with the issues and concerns identified in the assessment;
- b) Identify key areas from the priority list of issues and concerns;
- c) Develop criteria for the selection of issues on which to collectively focus efforts and/or resources;
- d) Identify interventions more effectively done at the regional rather than the bilateral level, for example, types of training, etc.;
- e) Develop country workplans and regional workplan. These workplans are envisaged as the basis for forming a joint regional strategy for dealing with each of the identified areas of focus. REDSO's primary role will be to facilitate the process of implementation; and
- f) Build consensus on monitoring tools and impact data.

The Contractor will prepare a Workshop Report summarizing issues, processes and conclusions.

Estimated Duration of Dissemination Workshop: 3 days

Estimated LOE for design, planning, implementation and report writing: 12 days

Location: Kenya

V. SCHEDULE

The intended timeline for the assessment is approximately May 15, 2001 through October 15, 2001. The contract shall run for a period of six months counting from the effective date of the contract. The Contractor shall:

- 1. Complete the Country Specific Gender Assessments within three months;
- 2. Undertake the regional workshop within 5 months from the effective date of the contract;
- 3. Establish a functioning database on Gender/WID within 5 months from the effective date of the contract;
- 4. Continue to meet performance deadlines as established in the contract document.

VI. REPORTS AND DELIVERABLES

The Contractor shall prepare and present to REDSO for approval and/or information:

A. REPORTS

1. A detailed Activity Design and Workplan proposal. This should not exceed 20 pages;
2. Monthly progress reports. It is anticipated these will provide detail of progress made and are expected not to exceed 10 pages;
3. Country Reports on the Regional Gender Impact Assessment. These country reports should be no more than 30 – 40 pages each containing an executive summary (not to exceed 4 pages) of the country findings and conclusions;
4. Synthesis Report on the Regional Gender Impact Assessment. This will be the main report and should be no more than 65 - 75 pages and must contain an executive summary (not to exceed 5 pages) of the findings and conclusions;
5. Report on the development of the initial database designed to track Gender/WID objectives, results or related activities at Mission and regional levels focusing on 3 identified and approved sectoral areas. The report should be no more than 15 – 25 pages;
5. Workshop Report. The report should be no more than 30 – 40 pages and should contain a summary of discussions, recommendations and agreements; and
6. Final Activity Report.

B. SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

In designing this Activity, it is anticipated that the Contractor will undertake:

- i) Desk reviews of R4s, Country Strategic Plans, Results Packages, Activity papers, evaluations, work plans, and other special reports on WID/Gender activities from and on the region;
- ii) Review PPC/CDIE, AFR/ABIC and G/WID documents/publications that are relevant to this assessment;
- iii) Interview with relevant Agency staff in AID/W, Mission staff in selected ESA missions;
- iv) Design necessary survey instruments and undertake the regional gender impact assessment;
- v) Develop an inventory of Gender/WID activities in the ESA region and Gender/WID Data Sources, Baseline Sources; etc.;
- vi) Design and deliver regional gender information system;
- vii) Design and deliver the Dissemination Workshop.

C. DISSEMINATION WORKSHOP

The contractor shall deliver one workshop as noted in Section IV (4) above. The contractor shall identify, select and make recommendations for an average of 25 - 30 participants for Workshop as agreed with USAID/REDSO/ESA.

VIII. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE REQUIRED

A team of three social scientists will undertake this Regional Gender Impact Assessment. Two (2) social scientists will have experience in at least two (2) of the following development sectors: Gender Issues, Food Security/Economic Growth, Democracy and Governance/Conflict, and Capacity Building, and one (1) social scientist will have experience in the monitoring, evaluation and impact assessment of USAID programs.

The technical qualifications of the team required are:

A) REGIONAL GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT:

1) *Women in Development and Gender Analyst/Team Leader (Senior Level): 1 person/55 days*

Qualifications:

At least MA degree and academic training in a social science discipline (anthropology, sociology, economics, political science or women's/gender studies), including specific training in social research methods and design. Extensive experience designing and implementing social research activities in developing countries, including the design and evaluation of development programs and projects that focus on techniques to assure that women participate in and receive the benefits of economic development.

Skills:

Demonstrated consulting and supervisory skills; demonstrated skills in writing technical reports and presentation. Technical knowledge and experience of gender impact assessment and training skills.

Experience:

Gender impact assessments; detailed knowledge of and experience of USAID activity design, implementation and evaluation policies; working with African NGOs. Good understanding of the ADS requirements on gender impact reporting.

Dissemination Workshop (See below):

Women in Development and Gender Analyst/Trainer (Senior Level)– one person for 12 days:

The Team Leader will also undertake facilitation and training in the Dissemination Workshop.

Note: The Team Leader must have prior experience in the impact assessment of gender related activities and will be responsible for the supervision, coordination and intellectual management of the Team's work. The Contractor is required to indicate the ability to work with regional experts.

2) *Evaluation Methods and Training Analyst (Mid-Level): 1 person/ 45 days*

Qualifications:

At least MA degree in academic training in evaluation research methods and practices or academic training in broader social science or economic research methods. Extensive practical evaluation experience evaluating development

programs and running evaluation-training sessions. Specific experience evaluating: developing country programs and projects, designing and implementing performance measurement and evaluation systems for management decision-making, implementing both formative and summative evaluation studies, and application of both qualitative and quantitative evaluation methods.

Skills:

Demonstrated analytical and consulting skills; skills in writing technical reports and presentation; proficiency in database management and spreadsheet; ability to analyze and package gender disaggregated data; extensive knowledge of running evaluation-training sessions and leading training courses on performance measurement and evaluation systems, and the application of both quantitative and qualitative evaluation methods; etc.

Experience:

Evaluation and impact assessments; understanding of the ADS and experience of USAID activity design, implementation and evaluation policies.

Dissemination Workshop (See Below):

Evaluation Methods and Training Analyst (Mid-Level) – one person 12 days:
The Evaluation Methods and Training Analyst will also be a lead trainer on assessing gender impact and in presenting the regional gender database.

3) Program and Policy Analyst (Mid-Level): 1 person/45 days

Qualifications:

At least MA degree and training in economics, policy analysis, program development and management, or social sciences including specific emphasis on quantitative and qualitative analysis of social and economic development programs and extensive experience with methodological approaches to assessing social and economic policy reforms in developing countries.

Skills:

Demonstrated consulting skills; program development skills; writing USAID reports.

Experience:

Detailed knowledge of USAID activity design, implementation, program/activity development and management, monitoring and evaluation policies and procedures. Good understanding of the ADS requirements on reporting.

B) OTHER REQUIRED PERFORMANCE CATEGORIES

i) Database Development:

1) Database Specialist (Junior-Level): one person for 20 days

Skills: Working under the direction and supervision of the Evaluation Methods and Training Analyst, the Database Specialist will have demonstrated proficiency in database design, development and management; experience in analytical and statistical skills; ability to package and present data other gender disaggregated data; etc. This specialist may be contracted locally in the region.

ii) Dissemination Workshop:

- 1) Workshop Facilitator/Trainer (Senior Level) -- one person for 12 days:
Skills: Demonstrated training and facilitation skills for USAID workshops.
- 2) Conference Support Staff – three persons for 7 days:
Appropriate local support staff.

IX. RELATIONSHIP AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The following relationships and responsibilities will apply to this IQC:

- a) The Contractor shall operate under the technical direction of Wanjiku Muhato, Regional Advisor of Gender Issues, USAID/REDSO/ESA;
- b) The Contractor will be responsible for all logistics under this Task Order;
- c) The English language is the only language required for performance of work under this Task Order; and
- d) The Task Order IQC Contractor shall request, in writing, and obtain through the Task Order CTO, Country Clearance for individuals travelling under this Task Order (or, other cooperating country, as required), prior to commencing their international travel.

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APPENDIX D

RAPID APPRAISAL METHODOLOGIES (RAMS)

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September 2000*

OVERVIEW OF RAMS

The first rapid appraisal methodology was named Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) at a conference at the University of Sussex in 1978, and proposed the concept of “triangulation” for establishing validity. Triangulation entails working with a honed-down list of variables and issues, and for each of them, gathering data from (at least) two sources, preferably using (at least) two different research techniques (say, focus groups vs. key informant interviews). Today, there is a growing family of rapid appraisal methodologies, including Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Rapid Assessment Procedures (RAP). All rely on the principle of “triangulation” for validity. It is precisely this systematic attempt at cross-validation that raises the rapid appraisal methodologies above journalistic accounts, or “quick and dirty” research.

Even with triangulation, rapid appraisals produce data that are not as rigorous as random sample survey research. But because of their better ability to handle contextual data, rapid appraisals may have comparable - and sometimes better - levels of validity.

Moreover, rapid appraisals can be undertaken where random sample survey research cannot. The four principal reasons for not doing random sample survey research are that (1) it is not possible to meet the requirements for a random sample; (2) it is too early in the research process to be able to write the right questions and, especially, write the right closed-end alternatives to those questions, (3) the topics and/or target group may not be amenable to the rigid format of a survey, and/or (4) it is suspected that there is little variation in the answers people will give to the questions of interest. Specifically:

- The main reason for not being able to fashion random samples is that in many remote, large, or difficult terrain areas, it is too difficult and expensive to undertake the mapping that can establish the universe from which the random sample can be drawn.
- The main reason that surveys are inappropriate for the early, exploratory stages of research is that the multiplicity of open-ended questions that are needed at this juncture are horrendously expensive to code and analyze, and the process usually takes so long that results come in much too late to be of use to the average development project.
- Surveys also may be contra-indicated when the topic is too controversial or delicate or complex, and/or the target group may be engaged in activities that are too intimate or illegal to be willing to give truthful answers to the interviewer. (It also is impossible to delineate the universe of those engaged in illegal activities, precluding a random sample.)

- Finally, a large-scale random sample survey is most justified where there is lots of variation in the questions being explored, but too expensive if it just confirms key informants' assertions of uniformity (e.g., that almost 100% raise maize and cattle).

It is also worth mentioning two other potential advantages of rapid appraisals (RAs) that are relevant for development projects:

- (1) RAs are extremely useful for measuring results or impact at any point in the life of a project, and RAs can be integrated into any Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) system.
- (2) RA focus groups with various sub-groups of both clients and control groups can be used to supplement quantitative indicators and provide the prospect of a more participatory way of creating and periodically measuring indicators.

A TYPICAL RAPID APPRAISAL SEQUENCE

As a caution, note that not all the steps presented here must always be done, nor must they be done in the following order; sometimes two or more steps can take place concurrently. What is important is that the information obtained is triangulated, or cross-validated. This means using two or more techniques, comparing the vision of “insiders” and “outsiders,” and (where projects already are under way) contrasting the experiences of both clients and control groups. The typical steps of a rapid appraisal for a development project or program are:

1. REVIEW OF SECONDARY DATA

This includes two types of **literature/documents**: **outside** literature (social science studies, government reports, donor studies, “gray literature,” etc.), and **inside** literature (those related to the organization's project cycle, from initial formulations to final evaluations).

It also includes **re-analysis of existing data**. Again, these can be **outside** sources (national account statistics, household surveys, census, and/or quantitative data generated by bilateral or multilateral agencies, such as the World Bank LSMS series), and/or **inside** sources (e.g., rerunning tables to disaggregate them by gender, region, economic sector, age groups, etc.) The idea behind re-analysis of extant data is to use variables that had been collected and which are important to you but had not been used to disaggregate the data in the original analysis.

2. GATHERING OF PRIMARY DATA

Here are the main techniques:

- **Key informant (KI) interviews.** These make use of a flexible, semi-structured “topic list,” rather than a rigid questionnaire, and this topic list can and should be continually adapted/modified as new insights and topics emerge.
 - Typically, KI interviews begin at the top, at the national level, and then work their way down to the grass roots level.

- They also should involve both **outsiders** (e.g., the staffs of NGOs that compete with the one(s) involved in the project; locally knowledgeable people such as teachers, health post workers, etc.) and **insiders** (various levels of project staff).
- **Focus group interviews.** These can be conducted in a participatory manner by the facilitator, so that participants interact and discuss topics among themselves, often arriving at new insights and recommendations.
 - The most essential thing is that focus groups should be **homogeneous**. One should never combine people with conflicting interests in the same focus group (e.g., labor and management; large landlords and tenant farmers, and - in most situations - men and women). Neither side will be forthcoming and honest.
 - Focus groups also should be **small**; the ideal size seems to be **five**. In practice, up to eight can be manageable with a trained facilitator running the discussion and a second person recording; conversely, the occasional group of four (or even three) may be necessary if there are “no shows.” Why five? Social psychology research has established that when group size goes above five, a clear leadership structure begins to emerge: one or two dominate the group and one or more tend to withdraw, saying little or nothing. And based on my experience in over three dozen countries around the world, five is indeed the magic number for interactive, insight-producing discussions that can be managed by one facilitator (aided by one assistant to help record answers).
 - Focus groups can collect two kinds of data: (a) on the **issues**, and (b) **socioeconomic and socio-demographic** information. The social data can be collected at strategic moments when the issues discussion is veering off on a tangent, or being monopolized by 1-2 people. The facilitator announces that it is now time “to go around the circle,” and asks everyone, e.g., how many children they have and how old they are. This breaks up the unwanted discussion pattern and the facilitator can pick up with a new topic or ask for a comment from someone who had not spoken.
 - During the project implementation phase, focus groups should be conducted not only with **insiders/clients** but also with **outsiders/controls**. It is necessary to have separate control group meetings in order to find out what other factors (exogenous variables or externalities) may have been affecting the people in the area, independent of the program/project.
- **Supplemental techniques.** These include:
 - **Follow-up individual interviews** with a few people from the focus groups to clarify points that remain in doubt.
 - **Observation.** This can be a powerful tool, especially for conservation/natural resource management projects. One can walk a farmer’s fields and see what

measures he/she actually is using, vs. what the person may say in an individual interview or focus group.

- **Content analysis** of newspapers or other media (TV, radio, magazines) or even donor or project documents may be very revealing - especially of biases that exclude certain groups or present them in a stereotyped way.
- **A “last-step” mini-survey.** Such a technique is useful if, after all the above:
 - (1) we still cannot predict what the people in the next focus group are going to say on a particular topic, or
 - (2) we need quantitative data, either to convince skeptics or because the consequences of loose estimates could be detrimental to the clients.

But this “last step” survey need not include all the items for which clear patterns have emerged. For example, if we already know the main crops and livestock in the area, the gender division of labor vis-à-vis those crops and livestock, and any variation in that gender division of labor by ethnic group or level of wealth, we do not have to include these items in the survey instrument. To reiterate, the mini-survey questionnaire need contain only the questions that remain in doubt. By this time, we probably know enough about even those issues to be able to make most questions “closed-end.”

Naturally, a random sample remains the ideal. Sometimes, this becomes feasible for a “last-step” mini-survey when it would have been impossible for an initial baseline survey. This may be because the unsettled questions are now confined to a small sub-sector of the original geographic area. If so, the cost of constructing the “sampling universe” could be greatly reduced.

3. FEEDBACK

In order to help the various stakeholder groups feel a sense of ownership in the project, it is necessary to encourage their participation in decision-making related to the project. One key step is to consult with them about preliminary findings and first round suggestions about project initiatives. The general sequence is to reverse the process to this point and “go back up the pyramid.” In short, one would start with some of the grass roots people who had been focus group or key informant interviewees. Then one could hold a community-level meeting, even though those with less power would be unlikely to participate freely. There also should be feedback meetings with project staff (front-line workers, as well as project management), and finally, at the national level (including top management of the project, relevant donors, government officials, and the like).

In sum, rapid appraisals can provide data that can be defended scientifically more quickly and cheaply than any comparable method. As a final bonus, they are particularly suitable for typically under-funded development sectors, such as gender and development.

APPENDIX E

WID, GAD and Mainstreaming Approaches to the Advancement of Women: a Comparison

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|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A WID -women-focused - focus only on women, does not consider the role of men. WID is ineffective as an overall approach, although special projects for women may still be useful. | GAD - gender-oriented - compares women and men to identifying differentials in access, participation and benefits, and focuses on the gender relations that generate such differences. | Mainstreaming - focuses on developing institutional mechanisms and strategies to effectively implement a gender-oriented approach in all areas of the mainstream. |
| Understanding of the problem: 1) women's lack of participation in development; 2) women's lack of capability and experience to compete equally with men. | 1) gender inequality; 2) unequal power relations between women and men that constrain women's participation in development; 3) lack of recognition by policy makers of the extent to which women are engaged in development but on an unpaid and undocumented basis. | 1) institutional biases that contribute to the unequal representation of women in decision making in all fields and at all levels; 2) lack of institutional arrangements to implement a gender perspective in policy formulation, programming and implementation in all fields and at all levels; 3) an institutional environment that is more compatible with men's gender roles than those of women. |
| Responses: 1) develops new activities for women to <i>increase</i> their role in development. This often merely adds to the burden of women who are already fully (but invisibly to the policy makers) occupied with unpaid domestic work and productive work in agriculture or the informal sector, usually as unpaid workers. 2) Training and capacity building to enable women to compete equally with men; 3) special projects for women. | 1) the use of gender statistics: sex-disaggregated data showing the differences between women and men, and data on specific gender issues such as counting and valuing unpaid work; 2) gender training to raise awareness of gender issues and the extent to which they affect policies and programs; 3) the use of gender analysis to identify differential impacts on women and men and to develop measures to address such differences; | 1) institutional changes (such as affirmative action policies) to facilitate an increase women's representation in decision making in all areas of the mainstream; 2) institutionalization of gender analysis, gender statistics and other techniques of gender mainstreaming in all areas of the mainstream; 3) other institutional and organizational changes to enable women's gender needs to be met equally with those of men in all areas of the mainstream. |

Source: Corner, Lorraine. *Capacity Building for Gender Mainstreaming in Development*.

APPENDIX F

LESSONS FROM LITERATURE ON GENDER AND EMPOWERMENT AND ‘BEST PRACTICES’ MICROFINANCE PROJECTS

- First, the literature on **gender and empowerment** has found economic power to be the most important influence on women’s overall degree of equality with counterpart men.
- In addition, relative male/female economic power has been found to have a series of consequences of great importance for enhancing economic and social development.
- Specifically, with greater control of economic resources (the operating definition of economic power), women tend to gain:
 - Increased self-confidence;
 - Increased say vis-à-vis their own fertility;
 - Increased say vis-à-vis sexuality (e.g., condom use);
 - Increased say in household economic decisions;
 - Increased say in household domestic well-being decisions (including those affecting children’s nutrition, education and health);
 - Increased say in conservation/land use decisions in rural areas;
 - Increased ability to be active in civil society, and increased likelihood of doing so, and
 - Decreased likelihood of being victims of domestic violence – although only after their enhanced economic power has been consolidated (see, e.g., Blumberg 1984, 1991, 1995, 2001a).
- Additionally, women tend to spend income under their control differently than counterpart men, tending to:
 - Hold back less for their own personal consumption, and
 - Spending funds more single-mindedly on children’s nutrition, education and healthcare (i.e., human capital formation; see, e.g., Blumberg 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1991, 1993, 1995, 2001a).
- Second, the sector of development where gender disaggregation of data and gender mainstreaming are farthest advanced is that of **“best practices” microfinance projects**. From about the mid-1980s, these projects began to replace the old model of subsidized credit, which not only had a 100% failure rate (Adams 1971, 1984), but an almost all-male client base. The literature makes clear that as the new “best practices” model evolved, there was a gradual learning process, whereby it was slowly realized that women microfinance clients were:
 - Almost universally better at repaying their loans than male counterparts;
 - At least as good as men in using the credits to increase business revenues, and
 - Better than men in taking any extra income home to improve the nutrition, education and health of both their sons and daughters.
- Donors increasingly insisted on sustainability and low rates of arrears in “best practices” projects. Soon most microfinance organizations were disaggregating loan repayment data by sex and many were paying their loan officers bonuses for maintaining a low rate of arrears on their portfolios. As women’s loan performance was documented, loan officers began to seek them out, in part as a way of assuring their bonuses. The net result has been a gradual feminization of the client base of the most advanced microfinance organizations (Roberts 1999).

APPENDIX G

GENDER ALSO MEANS MEN

The following example, which comes from fieldwork carried out by Dr. Rae Blumberg in Ecuador, makes it clear that gender also means men:

A project aimed at increasing household income by increasing milking income was doing well in a number of Indian and mixed Indian-mestizo villages in the Ecuadorian Andes but failing miserably in one mestizo village, El Angel. The USAID-mandated baseline gender analysis for the project had never been carried out. But luckily, it proved possible to recoup: a single day's rapid appraisal was sufficient to hold separate focus groups with men and women from El Angel and discover why the project was failing there.

As the first component of the project, extension agents had urged men to devote one of their fields to growing improved pasturage so that the women would not have to take the cows to the grazing areas above the village each day. The cows could then be milked twice rather than once a day – thereby doubling milking income. The improved pasturage also would permit early weaning of calves. These calves would reach sexual maturity or marketable size faster while the cows would come into estrus again faster, further enhancing household income.

The problem was that the men of El Angel had steadfastly refused to devote any of their fields to improved pasturage.

The gender analysis carried out that day explained why: El Angel is located well above 3,000 meters, just below the “cultivation frontier” above which only grazing is possible. Since women did the milking and received the money from the wholesaler, the men viewed it as female, not male, income. And since men made their income from sale of vegetable crops from their small number of fields below the “cultivation frontier,” they saw the project as a zero-sum game – one that would enhance their wives' incomes (and decrease their daily labors in taking the cows to graze above the “cultivation frontier”) while cutting the men's.

Fortunately, as it turned out, there were other interventions the project could promote once the source of the El Angel men's recalcitrance was revealed.